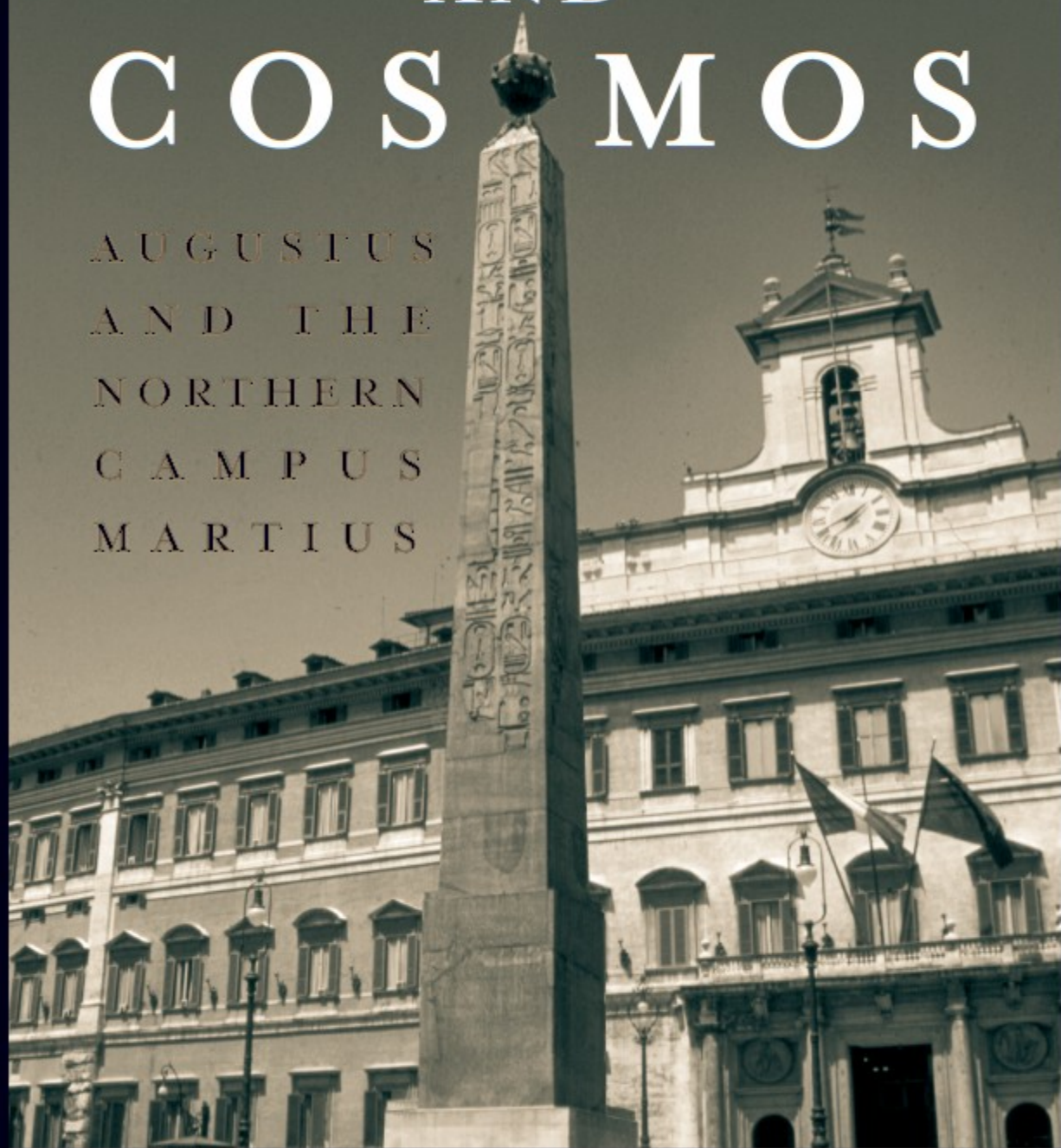


IMPERIUM AND COSMOS

AUGUSTUS
AND THE
NORTHERN
CAMPUS
MARTIUS



PAUL REHAK

Edited by John G. Younger

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IMPERIUM AND COSMOS

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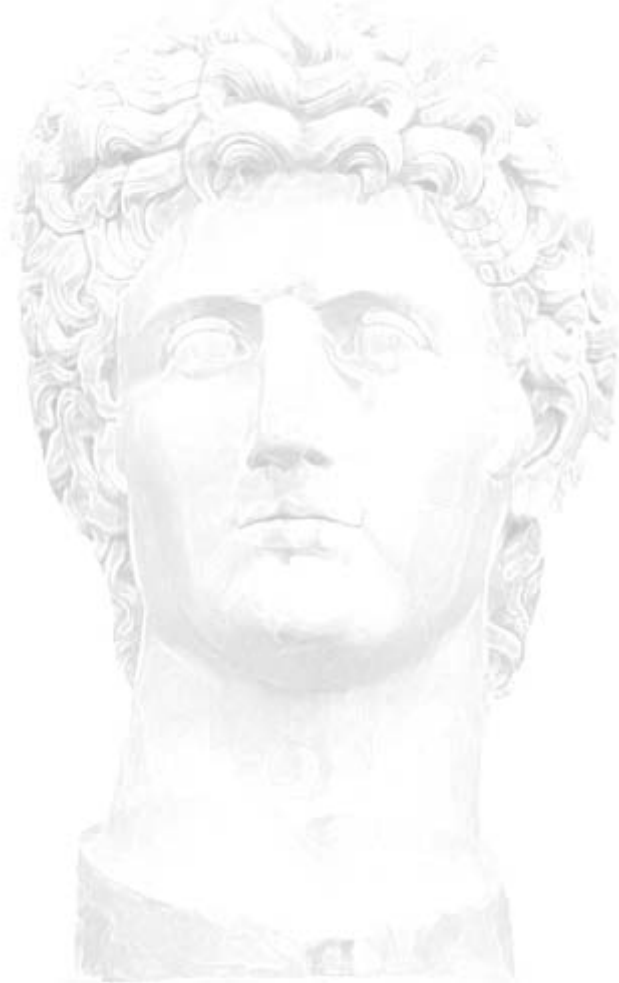


IMPERIUM AND COSMOS

Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius

Paul Rehak

Edited by John G. Younger



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for my own
AUGUSTAN
family

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Preface

Every generation finds its own Augustus. On the eve of World War II, Sir Ronald Syme reinvigorated the field of Augustan studies with his groundbreaking work *The Roman Revolution* (1939), which contextualized the first emperor against the fascist and totalitarian regimes that were coming to dominate Europe. In the years since then, there has been no shortage of other interpretations of Augustus and his principate. Fifty years later, three landmark studies appeared almost simultaneously. *Kaiser Augustus* (Hofter et al. 1988) is a remarkably detailed exhibition catalogue with accompanying essays, produced by a constellation of European, mostly German, specialists. Paul Zanker's seminal book, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (1987; trans. 1988), argued that Augustan values were propagated through a dialogue between ruler and ruled, and not simply imposed from the top down. And Claude Nicolet, in *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (1988; trans. 1991; reviewed Purcell 1990), focused on the contemporaneous shift in mentality from Rome the city to Rome the ecumenical empire that incorporated the inhabitable world (*oikouménē*).

Our own day has seen the emergence of a “kinder, gentler” Augustus, as revealed by Karl Galinsky in his recent survey of *Augustan Culture* and by Diane Favro's *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*, both published in 1996 to mixed receptions (e.g., Simpson 1997; Kellum 1998; Hardie 2000). Other studies are numerous: D. Kienast 1982 includes immense bibliography and an important treatment of Augustus's imperial philosophy (*Reichspolitik*); and Galinsky conducts useful overviews of scholarship (1986, 1996). There have also been several important conferences (Winkes 1985; Raaflaub and Toher 1990; and Habinek and Schiesaro 1997). Other studies chart changing views of the

princeps and the Augustan age as both continuity and innovation (e.g., Levi 1951; Salmon 1956; André 1974; Wallace-Hadrill 1982; Simon 1986a; Eder 1990; Crook 1996b; and Lacey 1996).

Yet Augustus the man and his achievements remain elusive. In large part, his enigmatic quality can be attributed to his exceptional longevity and the conditions of the time in which he lived. Virtually unknown as a teenager before his adoption by Julius Caesar, he managed not only to survive the succeeding decades but eventually to emerge as the “last man standing” after the Civil Wars at the end of the Republic. By creating for the public the palatable fiction of restoring the Republic or reasserting liberty and peace (Judge 1974), he invented a new name and role for himself and his successors, and presided over a remarkable transformation in Roman politics and society. By the time of his death at the age of seventy-six, he had reinvented himself several times; he even attempted to legislate how posterity would evaluate him through his last testamentary autobiography, the *Res Gestae*, which was read aloud and inscribed in various locations, even in front of his tomb. But clearly the young man of the Civil Wars was a very different man from the aged ruler of the early empire.

The question, then, still remains: how can we come to terms with Augustus? Scholars have approached the mass of surviving evidence from a variety of valid perspectives, but recently there seems to have been a move away from Augustus the individual in order to consider broader cultural issues. To choose just a few examples, the portraiture of the princeps and the members of his family has long been a mainstay of art historical studies, but in recent years the focus has shifted to the circumstances under which certain images were selected, the nature of the messages these carried, and the ways in which the images were disseminated to—and understood by—the Roman public in various parts of the empire (MacMullan 2000). Individual works, like the Boscoreale cups (Kuttner 1995), have been examined not only as works of art but also as lenses through which we can view the political issues of the period and as aids in reconstructing monuments now lost. And many scholars are now crossing old and established disciplinary boundaries to aid in our understanding of the period. Literary critics like C. Edwards (1996) and my colleague at Kansas, Tara Welch, for example, are using early imperial poetry to help us understand the physical growth and development of the city of Rome.

The study of individual buildings in Rome and in the provinces has often merged with our wish to understand the broader implications of architectural programs, the creation of urban spaces, and the spread of “Romanitas”—or resistance to it. A significant part of the Augustan legacy was the architectural transformation of Rome (Coarelli 1987; Favro 1991; Purcell 1996). His building record elsewhere in the empire was equally impressive and far-reaching (Gros 1976; D. Kienast 1982; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985; Mierse 1990; Kästner 1995). Yet significant questions remain about the nature and purpose of these programs. To what extent did they form part of a unified vision, and can we identify the personal participation of the princeps in the choices of building

types and schemes of architectural decoration? How do choices about the planning and construction of buildings reflect the social and political changes of the time?

The present study draws on all these and other areas, but my focus in this book is on the Augustan transformation of a single geographic area of Rome, the Campus Martius, from a center of display and competition among the old Republican families into a kind of Augustan “theme park” that evolved over time, celebrated his major achievements, and prepared for his death and eventual deification. In choosing the transformation of the Campus Martius as my main subject, I shift away from some other areas of the city that have been well studied of late: the re-creation of the Forum Romanum as a Julian monument, the architectural changes that took place on the Palatine Hill as it became an imperial residence (Gros 1993a; Nielsen 1993; Royo 1999; Tomei 2000a, 2000b; Quenemoen 2002), and the creation of the Forum of Augustus (La Rocca 1995b; Ungaro 1997a).

My thesis is that the development of the Campus Martius represents something fundamentally different and new in the process of Roman urbanization and personal self-promotion. The erection of Augustus’s tomb (the Mausoleum), the site of his cremation ceremony (the Ustrinum), and the creation of a giant sundial (the Horologium-Solarium) and associated Altar of Augustan Peace (Ara Pacis Augustae), all mark experiments in the creation of a new world capital. While these general types of monuments—tombs, sundials, and altars—were already known and used by the Romans and other Mediterranean cultures before the early imperial period, the structures actually erected in the Campus Martius in each case represented something novel and different. There are no direct precedents for any of these monuments in terms of their scale, elaboration, and arrangement in space, and, interestingly, the structures seem to have inspired few direct successors. In each case, however, I argue that, although Pompey and Caesar employed eastern monarchical symbols (A. Alföldi 1934, 1935, 1970), Augustus’s monuments in the Campus Martius reveal unambiguous imperial and monarchical themes to a greater extent than has generally been credited by scholars. That the structures succeeded in conveying these cosmic messages of royal power in acceptable forms is due to their use and transformation in each case of an existing architectural and conceptual vocabulary in order to carry new messages. The buildings thus “speak” a language of power (*imperium*) that was understood by the public two millennia ago, a language that we are still capable of understanding today. Finally, I argue that such an ambitious sequence of buildings is only possible if we assume the direct participation from the very beginning of the princeps who authorized them, whatever public disclaimers he, his planners, or his advisors and associates may have made.

Like the Campus Martius itself, but on a lesser scale, this book has changed and expanded over time. It began as a study of the Ara Pacis in two seminars on Roman sculpture held at Duke University in 1998 and 1999. Over the last two years it has grown to include the Mausoleum, Ustrinum, and Horologium-Solarium. I am grateful to the

Preface

students in my seminars for their insights and observations: Ali Balfour, David Bediz, Marshall Brandt, Albert Caruana, Jill Chmielewski, Eleni Eliades, Carrie Lancaster, Rebecca Lipschutz, John Long, Meredith Mewley, Margo Rettig, Ileana Serrano, Rupert Shaw, Rachel Sommers, Dorian Statom, Torry Thomas, Margaret Thompson, Ethan Timm, and Shaheen Wirk.

The extent to which my own thinking has been influenced by the recent stimulating work of other scholars should be apparent throughout: especially influential is the work of David Castriota, Robert Cohon, Diane Conlin, Ann Kuttner, Adriano La Regina, John Pollini, Brian Rose, and Erika Simon. My colleagues in the Department of Classics at the University of Kansas have unfailingly provided encouragement for my work, and the fine staff of the library system has managed to obtain a number of publications that are difficult to access.

I also owe a considerable debt to colleagues who have read and commented on aspects of the material presented here, though they do not necessarily agree with all of my conclusions: Darius Arya, Elizabeth Bartman, Mary T. Boatwright, Peter Burian, Nancy de Grummond, Melanie Grunow, Gerhard Koepfel, Eugenio La Rocca, Nancy Ramage, Brunilde S. Ridgway, Steven Tuck, Annabel Wharton, and Ann Wilkins. Robert Cohon and Lawrence Richardson generously read this manuscript in its entirety, and have saved me from many pitfalls, though they are not of course responsible for any errors that remain. The two reviewers for the University of Wisconsin Press likewise helped with their insights and judicious comments. I am most grateful to John G. Younger, who has offered support and encouragement at every stage of this process.

Some of the material in chapter 4 was presented in lectures for the Department of Classical Studies at Duke University (April 1999), at a lecture for the Archaeological Institute of America in Detroit (November 1999), and at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in New York (February 2000). Portions of chapter 5 were presented at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Dallas (Rehak 2000), to the Department of Classics at the University of Kansas (2001), and at the April 2001 conference in Boulder, Colorado, on Marble in Antiquity. My identification of “Aeneas” on the Ara Pacis as King Numa (2001a) and my discussion of the *flamines* on the same monument (2001b) have, since their first publication, been refined.

A NOTE ON NAMES, DATES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Gaius Octavius (Octavian) was legally called Gaius Julius Caesar after his great uncle, Julius Caesar, adopted him in his will in 44 BCE. After the Senate deified Caesar in 42, Octavian had the right to add “son of a god” (*divi filius*) to his name, as well as Imperator Caesar. After 27 (January), his official name was Imperator Caesar Augustus (Syme 1958; Rubincam 1992; Simpson 1998b). For the sake of simplicity rather than absolute correctness, I refer to him as Octavian until January of 27 and Augustus thereafter.

All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. General descriptions of the various monuments can be found in Platner and Ashby 1929, L. Richardson 1992, Steinby 1993–99 (*LTUR*), and Claridge 1998; specific references to these volumes are not usually included in the bibliographical citations. All illustrations are either by the author, adapted by the author (with source specified), or reprinted with permission from the original source; translations, unless otherwise attributed, are also by the author.

Finally, a note should be made about the title of this book. In 1986, P. R. Hardie published a literary study, *Vergil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Although I have inverted the two words in his subtitle for the title of my book, we are obviously dealing with related—but different—issues.

EDITOR'S NOTE (AUGUST 2005)

On 17 April 2004, Paul Rehak gave his last paper on the Ara Pacis at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (CAMWS) in St Louis: “Women and Children on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.” He was able to include some of this paper in chapter 5 before suffering the heart attack that led to his death on 5 June. In editing this book for publication, my main concern has been to preserve the text that Paul wrote while trimming it down to a readable size; I deliberately did not include some of the most recent and appropriate publications in order not to overstep, or out-guess, Paul’s original intentions. I was fortunate to have been in on this project for over ten years. In that time Paul took several groups of students around Rome, and I was able to tag along and listen to him bring Augustus to life as we toured his monuments of the Campus Martius, went inside his Mausoleum, gawked at the paintings in his study on the Palatine, and “hunted down” all the obelisks in Rome. It has been a joy and an honor to bring to light this project—one of Paul’s many inspired visions of Rome.

Chronology

B C E

- 106 Birth of Pompey
- 100 Birth of Julius Caesar
- 83 Sulla greets Pompey as imperator
Birth of Mark Antony (14 January)
- 79 First triumph of Pompey (12 March)
- 71 Pompey triumphs over Spain
- 63 Birth of Octavian; Caesar pontifex maximus
- 61 Triumph of Pompey over three continents; claim of world conquest
- 59 Caesar consul
- 58–49 Caesar proconsul of Gaul
- 55 Dedication of Pompey's theater complex
- 54 Death of Caesar's daughter, Julia; break between Caesar and Pompey
- 53 Defeat of Crassus at Carrhae, Parthia
- 50 Octavian gives funeral oration for his grandmother, Julia
- 48 Death of Pompey in Egypt; Octavian assumes the toga virilis
(18/19 October)
- 47 Caesar makes Octavian pontifex
- 46 Caesar's triumph; Temple of Venus Genetrix dedicated (26 September)
Statue of Caesar as world conqueror set up on Capitoline
Caesar, accompanied by Octavian, goes to Spain to fight sons of Pompey

Chronology

- 46–44 Caesar dictator
- 45 Octavian at Apollonia (with Agrippa) for study, hears his future foretold
- 44 Assassination of Julius Caesar; Octavian adopted by will; Octavian returns from Apollonia
- 44–35 Sicilian War
- 43 Octavian's first consulship
 - Senate votes Octavian a gilded equestrian statue (2 January)
 - First grant of imperium
 - First victory (16 April); proclaimed imperator first time
 - Death of Cicero
 - Death of Octavian's mother, Atia
- 42 Deification of Julius Caesar by Senate
 - Birth of Tiberius
 - Death of consuls Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina
 - Battle of Philippi
- 41 Siege of Perusia
 - Antony invades Parthia; meets Cleopatra at Tarsus
- 40 Octavian captures Perusia and Lucius Antonius (consul), brother of Mark Antony
 - Octavian marries Scribonia; Antony marries Octavia Minor
 - Treaty of Brundisium between Octavian and Antony
- 39 Birth of Julia Major
 - Treaty of Misenum between Octavian, Antony, and Sextus Pompey
- 38 Octavian divorces Scribonia and marries Livia (17 January)
 - Drusus Major (son of Livia and Tiberius Claudius Nero) born three months later (28 March?)
- 38–36 War against Sextus Pompey
- 37 Treaty of Tarentum
- 36 Defeat of Sextus Pompey and Lepidus in Sicily (3 September)
 - Octavian refuses to succeed Lepidus as pontifex maximus
 - Antony invades Parthia and is defeated there
- 35–34 Dalmatian war
- 34 Antony annexes Armenia
 - Triumph of Statilius Taurus
 - Aemilius Lepidus Paullus restores the Basilica Aemilia
 - Agrippa restores the Aqua Marcia
- 33 Octavian's second consulship; Agrippa aedile; sewer system repaired
- 32 Antony declared public enemy
 - Italy's oath of allegiance to Octavian
- 31 Octavian's third consulship
 - Battle of Actium (2 September); Octavian winters in Samos and Syria

- 30 Octavian's fourth consulship
 Conquest of Alexandria (1 August); death of Antony and Cleopatra
 Annexation of Egypt
 Gallus sets up the Alexandria obelisk
 Birthday of Octavian celebrated publicly
 Octavian winters in Samos
 Senate votes Octavian tribunician power beyond the pomerium
- 29 Octavian's fifth consulship
 War ends and Janus is closed (first time under Octavian; third time since Romulus)
 Octavian returns to Rome
 Triple triumph (13–15 August)
 Gallus becomes prefect of Egypt (16 January)
 Dedication of Temple of Divus Julius; Troy Games
 Cult of Roma and Caesar established in Bithynia and Asia; cult of Roma and Octavian at Pergamon and Nicomedia
 Statilius Taurus builds and dedicates first stone amphitheater in Rome
 L. Marcus Philippus (stepfather of Octavian) restores Hercules Musarum and builds the Porticus Philippi around it
- 29–28 Octavian and Agrippa conduct census, purge of Senate
- 29–27 Construction of victory monument at Nikopolis, Greece
- 28 Octavian's sixth consulship
 Construction of Mausoleum begins?
 Temples of Apollo Palatinus and Medicus in Circo ("Sosianus") dedicated
 Octavian praetor urbanus
 Egyptian rites prohibited within the pomerium
 Major restoration of temples throughout Rome
- 27 Octavian's seventh consulship
 "Restoration of the Republic": Senate decrees corona civica for his house (13 January)
 Octavian becomes Augustus (16 January)
 Augustus granted titles of consul, proconsul, imperator
 Imperial and senatorial provinces established
 Tiber floods city
 Via Flaminia repaired
 Augustus visits Gaul and Spain
- 26 Augustus's eighth consulship
 Saepta dedicated; Augustus in Spain (remains until 24)
- 25 Augustus's ninth consulship
 Agrippa builds Pantheon, Basilica of Neptune, Baths of Agrippa
 Expedition of Aelius Gallus to Arabia; war in Ethiopia; Galatia annexed

Chronology

- Augustus has Janus closed for second time
- Julia Major marries Marcellus
- Agrippa sets out for east via Lesbos
- Tiber floods city
- 24 Augustus's tenth consulship; returns to Rome from Spain after illness
- 23 Augustus resigns the consulship (his eleventh) and receives tribunician power; granted proconsulship for life
- Agrippa receives imperium proconsulare for five years
- Narbonensis and Cyprus become senatorial provinces
- Augustus seriously ill; death of Marcellus and burial in Mausoleum
- 22 First tribunicia potestas; Augustus to Sicily
- 22–19 Augustus in the east
- 21 Second tribunicia potestas; Augustus in Greece and Sicily
- Agrippa marries Julia Major
- Egyptian rites again forbidden within city and for one mile outside pomerium
- Birthday of Augustus celebrated
- 20 Third tribunicia potestas; Augustus in Samos, Asia, Bithynia, Syria
- Birth of Gaius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia Major
- Return of the Parthian standards
- Tiberius installs king of Armenia
- 19 Fourth tribunicia potestas; triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus over the Garamantes
- Death of Vergil
- Augustus returns to Rome; Ara Fortunae Reducis voted; altar dedicated (15 December)
- Agrippa goes to Gaul and Spain
- Augustus renews tribunician power; Agrippa granted tribunician power for five years
- Augustus receives imperium consulare for life
- 18 Fifth tribunicia potestas; Sibylline Books redacted; purge of Senate
- Birth of Julia Minor, daughter of Agrippa and Julia Major
- Laws on adultery, marriage, luxury
- Revision of Senate
- Agrippa receives imperium proconsulare and tribunicia potestas for five years
- 17 Sixth tribunicia potestas
- Birth of Lucius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia Major; Augustus adopts grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar as his sons
- Secular Games
- 16–13 Augustus in western provinces; Agrippa in eastern provinces

- 16 Seventh tribunicia potestas; before departing from Rome, Augustus dedicates Temple of Quirinus
Agrippa and major priesthoods pray for Augustus's return
Tiberius (praetor) accompanies Augustus to Gaul
- 15 Eighth tribunicia potestas
Tiberius and Drusus defeat Alpine tribes
Porticus Liviae built
Birth of Germanicus, son of Antonia Minor and Drusus Major, son of Livia
Annexation of Raetia and the Alps
- 14 Ninth tribunicia potestas
- 13 Tenth tribunicia potestas; return of Augustus from the west, Agrippa from the east
Third Augustan closure of Janus
Ara Pacis founded (4 July)
Drusus remains in Gaul to conduct census
Theaters of Balbus and Marcellus dedicated
Pair of obelisks dedicated at Caesareum in Alexandria
Public celebration of Augustus's fiftieth birthday, directed by Iullus Antonius (son of Antony and Fulvia)
- 12 Eleventh tribunicia potestas; Augustus pontifex maximus (12 March)
Death of Agrippa, burial in Mausoleum
Shrine and statue of Vesta dedicated in home of Augustus on Palatine (28 April)
Birthday of Augustus celebrated
Augustus rebuilds Basilica Julia in names of Gaius and Lucius
- 11 Twelfth tribunicia potestas
Marriage of Tiberius and Julia Major
Statues of Salus, Concordia, and Pax dedicated at Janus in Roman Forum
Illyricum transferred to Augustus
Third purge of the Senate
New flamen Dialis appointed
Senate vote to close Janus abandoned when war breaks out
Birthday of Augustus celebrated
Curatores aquarum installed
Death of Octavia Minor (Augustus's sister), burial in Mausoleum
- 10 Thirteenth tribunicia potestas; dedication of obelisks at Circus Maximus and Horologium-Solarium; Augustus in Gallia Lugdunensis
- 9 Fourteenth tribunicia potestas; Ara Pacis dedicated on Livia's fiftieth birthday (30 January)
Augustus returns to Rome but does not enter the city; delivers eulogy for Drusus in the Circus Flaminius

Chronology

- Drusus consul *in absentia*
East adopts birthday of Augustus as beginning of new year
Death of Drusus (24 September), burial in Mausoleum
- 8 Fifteenth tribunicia potestas; month of Sextilis renamed after Augustus in the twentieth “Augustan” year
Formal return of Augustus to Rome and gladiatorial games (possibly as funerary games for Drusus)
Birthday of Augustus celebrated
Death of Maecenas
Tiberius celebrates triumph over Germany
Augustus’s second census; ends mourning for Drusus
- 8–7 Campaigns of Tiberius in Germany
- 7 Sixteenth tribunicia potestas
Rome reorganized into regiones and vici; statues of the divine patrons of each presented to the neighborhoods—bought with new year’s offerings to Augustus
Diribitorium dedicated
- 6 Seventeenth tribunicia potestas; Tiberius receives tribunicia potestas for five years but retires to Rhodes
- 5 Augustus’s twelfth consulship, eighteenth tribunicia potestas
Gaius comes of age and is introduced to public life; declared *princeps iuventutis*
Defeat of Lollius in Germany and loss of eagle standards
- 4 Nineteenth tribunicia potestas
- 3 Twentieth tribunicia potestas
- 2 Augustus’s thirteenth consulship, twenty-first tribunicia potestas
Lucius comes of age and is introduced to public life; declared *princeps iuventutis*
Augustus becomes pater patriae (5 February)
Forum of Augustus dedicated (12 May); Circus Flaminius flooded for crocodile fight
Gaius begins political career and sets out for Greece and east
Julia Major exiled; suicide of Iullus Antonius
- 1 Twenty-second tribunicia potestas

C E

- 1 Twenty-third tribunicia potestas
- 2 Twenty-fourth tribunicia potestas; death of Lucius Caesar at Massalia (2 August); Tiberius returns to Rome

- 3 Twenty-fifth tribunicia potestas
- 4 Twenty-sixth tribunicia potestas; death of Gaius Caesar at Limyra
(21 February)
Tiberius adopts Germanicus, son of Drusus Major and Antonia Minor;
Augustus adopts Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus (26 June)
Tiberius receives tribunicia potestas for five years
Fourth purge of Senate
- 5 Twenty-seventh tribunicia potestas
- 6 Twenty-eighth tribunicia potestas; aerarium militare established
Temple of Castor and Pollux dedicated (27 January)
City *vigiles* established
Judea annexed; Sardinia transferred to Augustus
- 6–9 Pannonian revolt
- 7 Twenty-ninth tribunicia potestas
- 8 Thirtieth tribunicia potestas; Julia Minor exiled
- 9 Thirty-first tribunicia potestas; Augustus meets Tiberius on his return from
Rhodes; Germanicus in Dalmatia; Tiberius returns to Dalmatia
Germanicus receives ornamental triumphalia
Disaster of Varus in Germany
- 10 Thirty-second tribunicia potestas
Tiberius in Germany
Tiberius dedicates Temple of Concord in his name and that of his son,
Drusus Minor (16 January, anniversary of Octavian's becoming Augustus)
- 11 Thirty-third tribunicia potestas
Tiberius and Germanicus invade Germany
Drusus Minor quaestor in Rome
Augustus publishes his horoscope
- 12 Thirty-fourth tribunicia potestas
Germanicus consul
Tiber floods city
Dedication of Porticus Iulia in honor of Gaius and Lucius Caesar
- 13 Thirty-fifth tribunicia potestas; Augustus's powers renewed for fifth time;
Tiberius's tribunician power renewed
- 14 Thirty-sixth tribunicia potestas; Augustus's third census
Death of Augustus at Nola (19 August); funeral; deification (17 September)
Res Gestae erected in front of Mausoleum
Death of Agrippa Postumus; death of Julia Major
Birthday of Augustus celebrated
- 14–37 Reign of Tiberius
- 15 Consulship of Drusus; Tiber floods city
- 17 Triumph of Germanicus

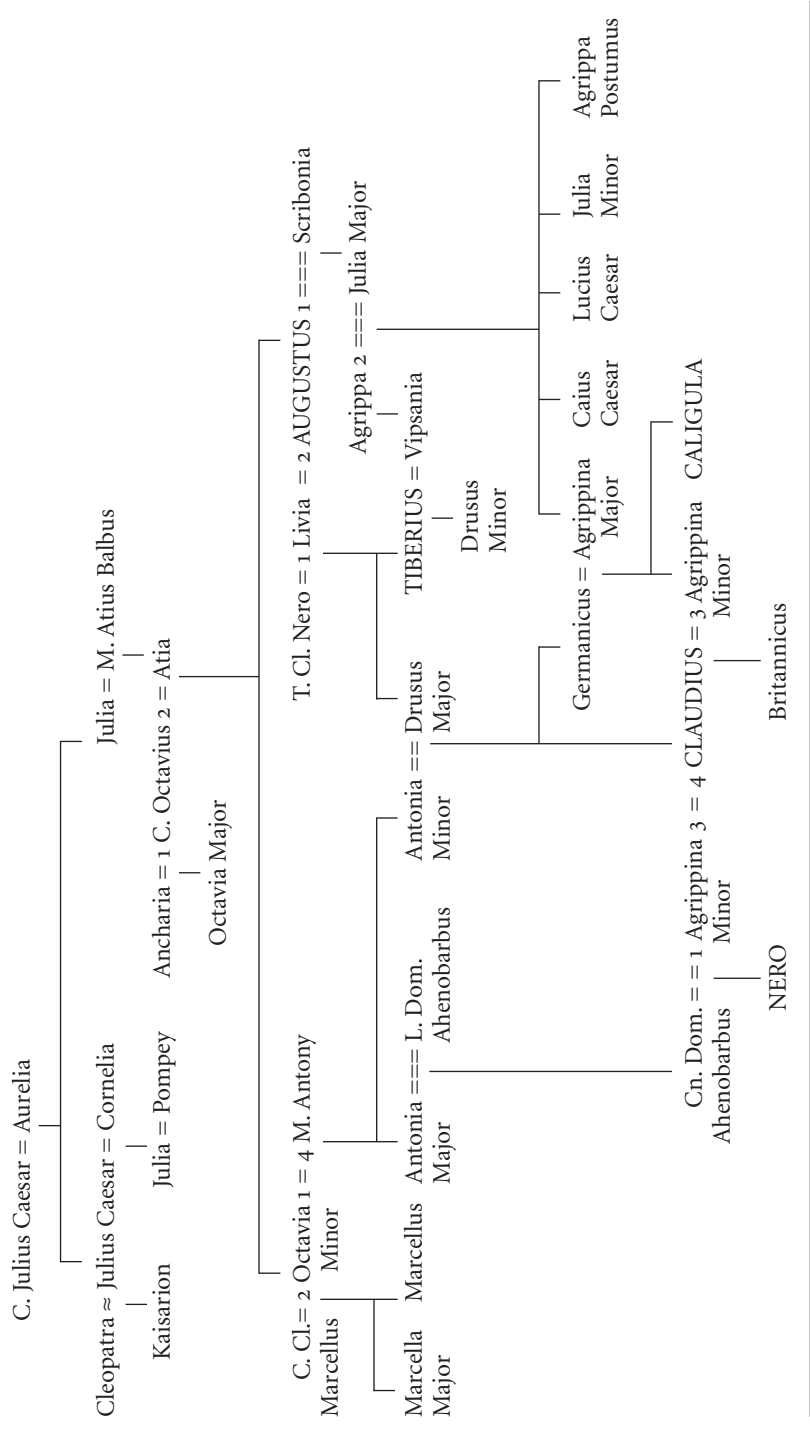
Chronology

- 19 Death of Germanicus in east; his wife, Agrippina Major, returns with his
 ashes for burial in Mausoleum; Claudian and Livian images present at
 funeral
 Twin sons born to Drusus Minor and Livilla, daughter of Drusus Major and
 Antonia Minor
- 21 Joint consulship of Tiberius and Drusus
- 22 Dedication by Livia and Tiberius of statue of divus Augustus at the Theater
 of Marcellus (23 April)
- 23 Death of Drusus Minor; burial in Mausoleum
- 26 Tiberius leaves Rome permanently for Campania
- 28 Death in exile of Julia Minor
- 29 Death of Livia
- 37 Death of Tiberius; funeral
 Caligula returns ashes of Agrippina and his brothers to Rome; dedicates
 Temple of Divus Augustus; grave illness
- 37–41 Reign of Gaius (Caligula); Alexandria obelisk brought to Rome and erected
 in Vatican Circus
- 41–54 Reign of Claudius
- 54–68 Reign of Nero, last of the Julio-Claudian emperors

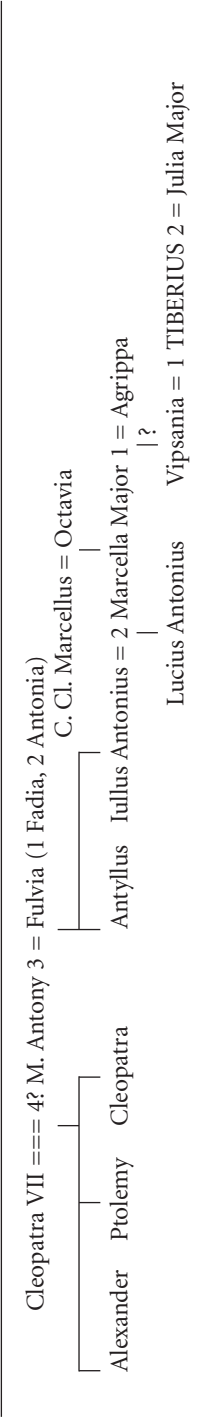

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graph TD
    JC[C. Julius Caesar = Aurelia] --- B1[ ]
    B1 --- C1[Cleopatra ≈ Julius Caesar = Cornelia]
    B1 --- C2[Julia = M. Atius Balbus]
    C1 --- K[Kaisarion]
    C1 --- J1[Julia = Pompey]
    J1 --- A[Ancharia = 1 C. Octavius 2 = Atia]
    A --- OM[Octavia Major]
    OM --- B2[ ]
    B2 --- C3[C. Cl. = 2 Octavia 1 = 4 M. Antony]
    B2 --- C4[T. Cl. Nero = 1 Livia = 2 AUGUSTUS 1 === Scribonia]
    C3 --- MC[Marcellus]
    C3 --- MA[Marcella Major]
    C3 --- C5[ ]
    C5 --- C6[Antonia === L. Dom.]
    C5 --- C7[Antonia == Drusus Major]
    C5 --- C8[Antonia == Vipsania]
    C6 --- AB1[Ahenobarbus]
    AB1 --- C9[ ]
    C9 --- C10[Cn. Dom. = 1 Agrippina 3 = 4 CLAUDIUS = 3 Agrippina CALIGULA]
    C9 --- C11[ ]
    C11 --- C12[Germanicus = Agrippina Major]
    C11 --- C13[Caius Caesar]
    C11 --- C14[ ]
    C14 --- C15[Lucius Caesar]
    C14 --- C16[ ]
    C16 --- C17[Julia Minor]
    C14 --- C18[ ]
    C18 --- C19[Agrippa Postumus]
    C10 --- AB2[Ahenobarbus]
    AB2 --- C10M[Minor]
    C10M --- C20[ ]
    C20 --- C21[NERO]
    C20 --- C22[Britannicus]

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Genealogical Chart 2. Mark Antony's other descendants



IMPERIUM AND COSMOS

Table 1. Sequence of buildings in the Campus Martius

<i>Date</i>	<i>Building</i>	<i>Builder</i>
8th century	Temple of Vulcan	Romulus
7th century	Ara Martis	Numa Pompilius
435	Villa Publica	
433	Apollo in Circo/Medicus	Cn. Julius; restored by Sosius, Augustus
296	Temple of Bellona	Appius Claudius Caecus
294?	Jupiter Stator	
292	Jupiter Fulgur	
252	Volcanus in Campo	
225	Ferona in Campo	
242/1	Juturna	
241	Juno Curritis	
257–28	Temple of Neptune	
ca. 220	Hercules Custos	
221	Circus Flaminius	
187	Juno Regina	M. Aemilius Lepidus
187	Hercules and Muses	M. Fulvius Nobilior
179	Lares Permarini	L. Aemilius Regulus, M. Aemilius Lepidus
ca. 175–50	Castor and Pollux	
168	Porticus Octavia	Octavius; restored by Augustus
146	Porticus Metelli (enclosing Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator)	Rebuilt by Octavia
110	Porticus Minucia Vetus (enclosing Lares Permarini)	
101	Fortuna Huiusce Diei	
80	Tomb of Sulla	
55	Theater of Pompey	
54	Tomb of Julia	
29	Amphitheatrum of Statilus Taurus	
29	Saepta Julia (Ovile)	Finished by Agrippa
29	Hercules and Muses	Restored by L. Marcius Philippus with added Porticus Philippi
28	Apollo Medicus in Circo ("Sosianus")	Restored by C. Sosius and Augustus
27–25	Pantheon of Agrippa	Agrippa
25	Basilica Neptuni	Agrippa
ca. 25	Mars in Campo	
Augustan	Stagnum Agrippae	Agrippa
	Thermae Agrippae	Agrippa
20s–7	Diribitorium	Agrippa; Augustus
	Euripus	Agrippa
23	Theater of Marcellus	Augustus
	Sepulcrum Agrippae	Agrippa/Augustus
13–9	Theater of Balbus	

Brick into Marble

Metaphor and Reality

The wonders of our city show that we have conquered the world.

—Pliny *Historia naturalis* 36.101

In a well-known and frequently quoted encomium on the achievements of Augustus, the imperial biographer Suetonius recorded that the first princeps had transformed Rome from a city of brick to one of marble: “Since the city was not adorned as the majesty of empire (*imperium*) demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, Augustus so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of sun-dried brick and left it in marble. He made it safe too for the future, so far as human foresight could provide” (*Augustus* 18.3).

Nearly a century later, the historian Cassius Dio paraphrased the remark (56.30.3–4) but interpreted it as a metaphor for the political transformation of Rome from the weak, divided state of the late Republic to the powerful and secure empire established by Augustus. If Augustus actually made such a comment, what exactly did he mean by it?

Although only the single line about “brick and marble” is usually quoted from the passage of Suetonius, the biographer actually links two concepts, power and its visual expression in architectural adornment: the *imperium* of Rome *required* that the city be embellished as a demonstration of its power. This is a book about that relationship between political power and architecture, using the Augustan building project in the northern Campus Martius as a focus.

Imperium is a difficult word to define in all of its original nuances, and for us it is a highly charged word: we derive our term “empire” from it; its cognate, *imperator* (one who exercises imperium) comes eventually to mean “emperor,” though the Romans of Augustus’s day more often used the old Republican word *princeps*, “first

man,” instead (Wickert 1954; cf. Livy 2.16.7; Tacitus *Agr.* 30). But originally the Romans recognized two types of imperium: the exercise of military power (*imperium militare*), by a field commander whose troops might acclaim him imperator on the battlefield, and the executive power of magistrates (*imperium domi*), awarded to consuls and praetors (Combès 1966; Magdelain 1977). Both types of imperium were granted under specific conditions for set periods, and then set aside (Rüpke 1990). For example, the imperium of proconsuls could be extended in order for them to command an army or govern a province. Praetors presided over courts (*quaestiones*), and after their term of office they were often awarded the command of legions or governorships of second-rank provinces, or both. Tribunes had veto power and *sacrosanctitas*, but not imperium. The first “Augustan Settlement” of 27 allowed Augustus to hold the consulship each year and extended his proconsular imperium over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Syria for a ten-year period. In the second settlement of 23, his powers were re-defined: his proconsular imperium became broader (*imperium maius*), putting him in control of all military provinces (as opposed to senatorial provinces); he could intervene legally in all of them; and his proconsular imperium did not lapse when he entered Rome’s *pomerium* (the sacred city boundary). At this time Augustus gave up the annual consulship and was granted tribunician power in its place (Last 1947; Jones 1951).

Imperium was also geographically finite: military imperium could not be wielded within the pomerium, nor could a city magistrate’s imperium be exercised outside it without retaking the auspices upon re-entering (Magdelain 1968). By the end of the Republic, however, the distinctions between military and civil power had been bent or broken so many times that they were becoming blurred. Even before Octavian’s rise to power, the Roman conquest of most of the Mediterranean world had contributed to an ongoing redefinition of imperium, one that incorporated most of the known world. Nevertheless, one aspect of imperium remained clear: the creation of public buildings in Rome was not only the right but also the responsibility of those who exercised military and domestic imperium and who reaped its material rewards.

The need for buildings that embodied imperium was particularly acute in the case of Augustus, whose monarchy evolved over time through gradual acquisition of powers that we have come to recognize under the title of “emperor.” In the east such visual expressions of power had been richly developed, especially by the Ptolemies; with the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus was left as the preeminent commander in the Mediterranean basin, and inherited, as it were, the expectation to continue such trappings. Only the most naive citizen in Rome could fail to recognize Augustus’s power as sole ruler, regardless of its public disguise or disclaimer.

That a relationship existed between political power and impressive architecture was neither a new idea in the ancient Mediterranean world nor one unique to the Romans. Thucydides (1.10) worried that the power of the Spartans in his time would pass unrecognized in the future because of their lack of impressive buildings, in contrast to those that characterized the contemporary city of Athens, particularly the Periklean

building program on the Akropolis (Hurwit 1999; Ferrari 2002). In Herodotus, the Greek term for “works” (*érga*) means not just great deeds, but also great buildings. Unlike deeds, however, which can easily be forgotten without a literary or oral tradition to maintain them, great buildings make a claim on posterity by their continued existence: monuments write their own histories. The Greeks, and the Romans after them, were interested in architectural marvels (*thaúmata* or *theámata*), and great structures became a means of measuring the stature not only of cultures but also of the individuals who were responsible for those projects (Andrén 1960; cf. Lepida’s use of the Theater of Pompey in CE 19, Tacitus *Ann.* 3.23).

The idea that monuments are yardsticks of personal or cultural achievement receives its fullest expression in the second century BCE, when the first lists of the Wonders of the World were compiled; significantly, this occurred at the same time that the Hellenistic sciences of mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy were engaged in measuring and quantifying the known world and the heavens, especially at royal institutions like the Great Library at Alexandria (Fraser 1972).

Tombs are the premier example of commemorative buildings because they perpetuate the presence of the individual even after death. It is not coincidental that the Greek term for tomb monument, *mnēmeíon*, is a cognate of the verb “remember,” or that *sēma* (“grave marker”) and *sōma* (“body”) refer to the same concept of outward appearance.

The architectural topography of Rome in the Augustan age (ca. 44 BCE–14 CE) has been the subject of numerous investigations in recent years, though large areas of the ancient city remain obscured by the accretions of later periods or are known only from fragments. Increasingly, scholars have recognized the ways in which different disciplines have provided useful theoretical models for framing and answering questions about Augustan Rome. In these attempts, a variety of sources have been employed: literary testimonia (Wiseman 1979; Jaeger 1995; Dyson and Prior 1995; Galinsky 1996, 1999; Rothwell 1996), numismatics, art, and archaeology. The greater goal is to reconstruct the many physical and social changes that were taking place in the capital at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the empire (see Patterson 1992, 198–99 on the development of the Campus Martius; and Gros and Torelli 1988).

Much attention has been paid of late to specific regions of the city that were altered or embellished architecturally under the first emperor. The Forum Romanum was transformed into a monument to the Julian family through the gradual rebuilding or replacement of existing structures (Zanker 1972; Coarelli 1985). For example, the second-century Basilica Sempronia was rebuilt as the Basilica Julia, and the Basilica Aemilia (which retained its original name) was rebuilt by Julius Caesar and then restored by Augustus. The Senate House (*curia*), burnt in the political turmoil of the end of the Republic, arose anew as the Curia Julia. And a new rostra was erected in front of the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar facing the original speaker’s platform (Nedergaard 1994–95; Ungaro 1997a, 1997b).

By the late Republic, the Forum Romanum no longer provided adequate public space (Anderson 1984, 39–63). The expansion of the urban center began under Caesar with the creation of the Forum Julii to frame and set off its centerpiece, the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the goddess Caesar claimed as his ancestress (Ulrich 1994, 117–55). His identification of the individual with the architectural project as a whole was made explicit when Caesar formally received members of the Senate in his forum while seated above them in the porch of the temple (Suetonius *Iul.* 78); one recent study even analyzes the forum as a “representation” of Caesar (Westall 1996).

Augustus not only finished the complex begun by his adoptive father but added one of his own, the Forum of Augustus (Luce 1990; Kellum 1996; 1997, 164–76; Packer 1997; Spannagel 1999). With the dedication of Augustus’s Forum and Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 (Hannah 1997; Rich 1998), a new public space was created that was designed specifically to accommodate activities of a military and political nature. In addition, some functions earlier localized on the Capitoline were transferred there. But by embellishing the colonnades of the forum with the statues and honorific inscriptions (*elogia*) of the great Roman statesmen and generals of the past, as well as with figures of his Julian ancestors, Augustus in effect appropriated select Romans up to his own day as members of a virtual “family” (Ganzert and Kockel 1988; La Rocca 1995a, 1995b; Ganzert 1996, 2000). The addition of copies of the Erechtheion caryatids as part of the original plan for the attic storey over the colonnades evoked and at the same time laid claim to the achievements and memory of Classical Athens as well, while shields bearing images of the god Jupiter-Amon (*imagines clipeatae*) suggested both the ancestral portraits displayed in the atria of Roman houses and Hellenistic Greek concepts of deification, since this divinity was an oracular father-sponsor of Alexander the Great (Winkes 1969; Ganzert 1990; Flower 1996; cf. Trillmich 1995 for *imagines* in Spain). It seems appropriate, therefore, that after his death Augustus, now deified, was worshipped here for more than twenty years, while the main center of his cult, the *templum novum divi Augusti*, was under construction to the south of the Forum Romanum (begun soon after 14 CE but not dedicated until the summer of 37 by Gaius Caligula). Its remains have not yet been uncovered (Cassius Dio 59.7.1–4; Fishwick 1992a).

On the Palatine Hill, a loose collection of late Republican houses had gradually been purchased and converted for the use of the princeps and his extended family (Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3); the compound even incorporated temples of state gods after the fashion of a Hellenistic palace like those at Pergamon and Alexandria (Carettoni 1978, 1983a, 1983b, 1988; Royo 1994, 1999; Gros 1996; Pensabene 1997). Thus, through the manipulation of space and architecture, Augustus created a direct physical link between himself and some of the major divinities of the Roman pantheon: Apollo Palatinus, Magna Mater, and Victoria (D. Thompson 1981; Zanker 1983; Kellum 1985; Lefèvre 1989; Royo 1999). After he became head of the state religious apparatus (*pontifex maximus*) in 12 BCE, Augustus installed a shrine and statue of Vesta there

as well, and used his religious authority to reallocate public space by making part of his home public property (*domus publica*; Lecomore 1994–95).

The southern Campus Martius, a focus of aristocratic competition and display particularly during the last three centuries of the Republic, was transformed as well, not only through the actions of Augustus himself but also through those of his associates and members of his extended family who were coopted into the process: his stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus; his sister, Octavia; and above all his friend, colleague, and son-in-law, Agrippa.

Recent discussions of the urban metamorphosis of Rome that occurred under Augustus, however, have tended to find its impetus in the changing social and political values of the time, particularly in the way in which traditional Hellenic and Italic elements were manipulated to carry new messages. Generally, most scholars recognize that Augustus succeeded where others had failed because he managed to mask his changes by adapting the established vocabularies of political, social, artistic, and architectural rhetoric to convey new messages, rather than by creating something entirely new (cf. Miller and Tilley 1984; Wallace-Hadrill 1997). Although scholars recognize this role of Augustus, opinions differ as to the degree and extent of his personal participation (cf. E. Simon 1986a; Wallace-Hadrill 1986; Hoffer et al. 1988; Zanker 1988; Favro 1992, 1993, 1996; Coarelli 1997; Habinek and Schiesaro 1997).

Unlike other areas of the city, which were already crowded with existing buildings, the northern Campus Martius outside the city proper had not been developed in previous periods: there, Augustus was not constrained by the past or by concerns about how the area had been used and viewed by the public. But unlike the Forum Augusti, Circus Flaminius, and Temple of Apollo Palatinus, all of which invoked familial images (cf. Severy 2000), the complex in the northern Campus Martius, I argue, represents something fundamentally different from the Augustan projects in all other parts of the city and conveys a set of messages that focuses on the person of Augustus himself. We can trace the evolution here of a personal architectural plan that—like the principate itself—changed over the course of several decades, beginning around the time of the Battle of Actium (31), a watershed regardless of the actual nature of the battle itself (cf. Gurval 1995). This Augustan development falls into two clear and separate stages. Earliest is the precocious erection both of his tomb, the Mausoleum, completed in the twenties, and his cremation site, the Ustrinum, which was prepared in advance but not actually used until Augustus's death in August of 14 CE. A second, later phase, directly followed the celebration of the Secular Games of 17 BCE and his extended absence from Rome (16–13); it involved the creation of a linked complex, the Ara Pacis and Horologium-Solarium, between 13 and 9. The giant solar clock, the Horologium-Solarium, used a large obelisk imported from Egypt as its pointer (*gnomon*) for tracking the passage of the sun through the zodiac. The Ara Pacis Augustae, or Altar of Augustan Peace, erected nearby, seems in contrast to stand perpetually still, a fossilized moment to the ideal, rather than the reality, of

Augustan peace. All these structures are personal monuments, not public benefactions *per se*.

The imperial projects of the northern Campus Martius embody a kind of tension too between public and private spheres of activity, one that the Romans not only tolerated but actively sought out: even the atrium of the aristocratic Roman house was a public stage where patron and client interacted (cf. Doonan 1999). Although the buildings in the Campus were essentially private monuments of the principate, they were placed in open settings and surrounded by public gardens, making this area one of the most beautiful and one of the most frequented in Rome. The monuments, individually and collectively, thus became subjects for reflection and discussion, inviting the same sort of *ecphrasis* that smaller works of art like sculpture and painting do. The structures literally became a means for evaluating and assessing Augustus and his achievements.

The ultimate goal of these constructions provides important evidence for Augustus's self-definition—how the princeps chose to present himself to the Roman people, not only in life but also, and perhaps more importantly, after his death (cf., for the Greek world, Bulloch et al. 1993). While the construction of the Mausoleum and Horologium-Solarium represented lavish outlays of effort, skill, and resources, all the monuments play with concepts of time—past, present, future—in order to commemorate Augustus.

Though the Romans were already familiar with all the individual components of such a complex (mausolea, ustrina, sundials, and altars), the scale, elaboration, and programmatic relationship among the monuments in Augustus's complex had no direct precedents and inspired no immediate successors. Nowhere else in the city were four such experimental and innovative buildings constructed as a set, suggesting that in this area we may look for the personal impetus of the princeps himself. In these new architectural forms, we can look for revolutionary, as well as evolutionary, elements. As part of an extended funerary and commemorative complex, the structures in the northern Campus Martius acquired their full meaning only on the death and burial of Augustus himself. Thus, the Augustan projects in the northern Campus Martius were settings for spectacle, but in a different and grander sense than buildings in other parts of Rome, and they convey messages that are unabashedly monarchical. While Augustus proclaimed publicly that he exceeded all of his contemporaries in influence (*auctoritas*) but possessed no more official power (*potestas*) than the magistrates who were his colleagues (*Res Gestae* 34.3; Brunt and Moore 1967), his buildings tell a far different story, both outside (D. Kienast 1999) and inside the city of Rome.

Field of Dreams

The Campus Martius

The rest of the city is only an appendage.

—Strabo 5.3.8

GENERAL LAYOUT

The Augustan building projects in the northern Campus Martius took place against a complex background of architectural, political, and social developments in this area of Rome (Castagnoli 1948; Gros 1976; Coarelli 1977, 1997; Harris 1979; La Rocca 1984a; Wiseman 1987; Palmer 1990; L. Richardson 1991; Patterson 1992, 194–200). From earliest times, it was associated with the military and electoral activities of the Roman people. The two functions had to be conducted outside the pomerium, and they often intertwined. Here troops trained for war, and successful generals exhibited their spoils before beginning their triumphal procession through the city. After their triumphs, they dedicated temples and public buildings to impress the populace and curry its favor in elections. Here too the citizens voted and elected the most important magistrates of the state, the consuls and censors. Aristocratic families competed with one another in this arena of architectural display, and here a few exceptional individuals were granted burial at state expense (*funus publicum*).

It is difficult today to get a sense of what this area looked like in antiquity. Since the early Middle Ages, when the city contracted to the *abitato* (the inhabited area between the Vatican and the Capitoline Hill), the Campus Martius has been one of the most heavily urbanized sectors of Rome. In this area, most of the remains of the imperial city still lie buried beneath palazzi and narrow streets; few structures have been excavated entirely, and we are often completely dependent on the evidence provided by ancient literary sources. The fragments of the Marble Plan of the city, of Severan date,

provide important clues (Castagnoli 1975–76; Rodriguez-Almeida 1978–80), but we must use our imagination to recapture a sense of what the area looked like during the Augustan period.

Figure 1, Figure 2

Originally, the area of the Campus Martius resembled a large, flat triangle, each side approximately 2 kilometers long (figs. 1–2). Its eastern edge is bounded, from north to south, by the ridges of the Pincian, Quirinal, and Capitoline hills, which extend like long fingers into the plain, while a sharply angled curve of the Tiber defines its northern, western, and southern sides. Relatively low-lying, and thus repeatedly subject to flooding, this plain lay outside the city boundary until after the Augustan age, and only in the time of Claudius, Vespasian, and Hadrian were its northern limits incorporated (Boatwright 1986). Thus, unlike the traditional seven hills of Rome, separated by narrow, congested valleys, the Campus (as it was often called) offered unencumbered spaces for activity of all kinds. Over a period of several centuries, the vast open area of the Campus gradually began to fill with buildings, starting in the south and gradually spreading north as Rome expanded.

Even in antiquity, the actual limits of the Campus Martius were considered somewhat amorphous, a situation that has caused much debate among modern topographers. For our purposes, the Campus includes the area bordered on the east by the present-day boulevard, the Corso, on the west by the curve of the Tiber, on the north by the Piazza del Popolo, and on the south by the Capitoline Hill and Forum Boarium. In antiquity a sizable stream, the Amnis Petronia, flowed south and west from the Quirinal somewhat through the center of the Campus to empty into the Tiber, helping to separate off a southern area, the Flaminian Fields (*prata Flaminia*), which extended for approximately 200 meters along the river. Eventually, the fields were regularized and took on the name of “Circus Flaminius,” though the “circus” was essentially an open rectangle increasingly defined by buildings along its edges, and not an arena for horse racing in the traditional sense. North of the Amnis Petronia was the Campus Martius proper, with a marshy area or pond near its center, the Palus Caprae (Goat’s Marsh), roughly the site now occupied by Hadrian’s Pantheon (Briquel 1977; Coarelli 1981b).

The construction of the Via Flaminia in 220, running north and west along the line of the modern Corso from the foot of the Capitoline Hill, served to bisect the Campus (Ashby and Fell 1921), and by the reign of Tiberius, and possibly earlier, the area to the east of the Flaminia had become known as the Campus Agrippae after Marcus Agrippa, Augustus’s friend and colleague and one of the great builders of the early imperial city.

At the western tip of the Campus Martius, tradition told of a natural feature, a volcanic fissure, supposed to be one of the entrances to the Underworld. Here was located the Tarentum (or Terentum), the site of an altar to the infernal gods, Dis and Proserpina, where the *ludi saeculares* (Secular Games) were celebrated at irregular intervals to mark the cycles of Rome’s existence. Although the games were celebrated only sporadically during the Republic, Augustus revived and reshaped them in 17 and used them to promote his plans for the moral and political renewal of the Roman

people and state. The Trigarium nearby was a track used for racing horses, apparently laid out parallel to the Tiber and slightly to the southeast of the Tarentum, though its precise location has been debated (Palmer 1990, 28–33).

The oldest traditions concerning the Campus Martius are shrouded in myth, but they consistently reflect its use for activities that could not be accommodated within the city walls. One venerable tradition stated that Romulus, Rome's founder, had disappeared at the Palus Caprae while reviewing troops there. Under cover of a storm, the gods swept him up to heaven or—according to a hostile version of the story—dissatisfied senators cut him to pieces and concealed the fragments under their cloaks so his body could never be found (Livy 1.16; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.56.2; Plutarch *Rom.* 27.6). By the late Republic, the archaic altar and column under the Lapis Niger in the Forum Romanum were understood as a memorial or tomb of Romulus (Gantz 1974; Frischer 1982–83, 61–62). A pyramid tomb, however, near Augustus's Mausoleum has been identified as the tomb of Romulus (Geige 2004); it may have been this tomb that helped determine the location of the Mausoleum.

Several important structures in the Campus were attributed to the activities of the earliest kings. A building of considerable antiquity, the Temple of Vulcan, was thought to have been founded by Romulus as a meeting place for the Senate outside the city. It probably stood in the southern part of the Campus Martius, north of the area later developed as the Circus Flaminius, near the Palus Caprae, and probably near the Palazzo Mattei, where a dedicatory inscription to Volcanus was found; the temple was certainly in existence in 214 when lightning struck it (Livy 24.10.9, 32.29.1; Plutarch *Rom.* 27.5, *Quaest. Rom.* 47; Manacorda 1990, 35–51; Ziolkowski 1992, 179–83). Though the traditional second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, had a reputation as a man of peace, he was also credited with establishing the Altar of Mars (Ara Martis) in the center of the Campus, apparently to the east of the Palus Caprae (Welin 1954).

The last Etruscan king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, possessed fields somewhere in the Campus (Livy 1.44; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.22; Aulus Gellius *NA* 15.27), but with the institution of the Republic at the end of the sixth century, this area was designated as *ager publicus*, or state land denied to private ownership, and in 435 the Villa Publica was established near the Ara Martis and used for taking the census of Roman citizens (L. Richardson 1976a; 1992, 430–31; Agache 1987). At first, the Villa Publica was probably an extensive open area, planted with trees, but by 56 it had probably become smaller as areas were carved off to make room for other buildings; nonetheless, it was embellished with porticoes and decorated with statues and paintings (Sutherland 1974, 85 no. 40, 84 pl. 40).

The Altar of Mars and the Villa Publica defined the area where the most important electoral functions of the Republic took place. Since by tradition the voting assemblies (*comitia centuriata*) represented the Romans as they arrayed themselves for war, the centuries had to meet outside the pomerium to elect the consuls and the censors (Varro *Rust.* 3.2.4; L. Taylor 1966). By the middle of the second century, the *comitia tributa*

met here as well. Cicero uses the term “campus” as a metonym for elections (*De or.* 3.167); so we derive “campaign.” The voting precinct or Saepta, a huge rectangular area monumentalized architecturally at the end of the Republic, was jokingly referred to as the Ovile—the sheep pen into which citizens were herded at election times.

The Villa Publica had other important functions. Envoys from hostile nations, who were likewise barred from entering the city boundaries, also were housed in the Villa Publica. Generals preparing to celebrate a triumph offered the sacrifice of the *secunda spolia* at the Ara Martis while they waited for the necessary senatorial approval to enter the city. Here, for example, Octavian’s troops camped in 43 after he had marched illegally on Rome, and here he waited for his election to his first consulate (Appian *B Civ.* 3.13). At the Saepta, the vote was taken to ratify Octavian’s adoption by Julius Caesar according to *lex curiata*, confirming the testamentary wish of the dictator.

Two early temples were constructed at the southeast corner of the Campus, near the foot of the Capitoline Hill, and marked the northern boundary of the Forum Boarium. These included the shrine to Apollo in Circo (Livy 4.25.3), also known as Apollo Medicus because the building had been vowed in order to avert a plague. The temple was dedicated in 431 by the consul Cn. Julius and restored or reconstructed following the catastrophic sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390. Rebuilt again in the Augustan period, it is now known generally as the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, and was richly decorated with colored stones imported from Africa and Asia and sculptural works brought from Greece. In 179 the censor M. Aemilius Lepidus built a theater next door (*ad aedem Apollonis*; Livy 40.51.3).

The other early temple was that of Bellona, the goddess of war, now identified as the structure immediately to the east of the Temple of Apollo in Circo (Coarelli 1965–67; Ziolkowski 1992, 18–19). Appius Claudius Caecus vowed the building in 296 during his battle against the Samnites and Etruscans. In front of the temple the Columna Bellica stood, on a small plot of land designated as “foreign in perpetuity” at the time of the Punic Wars (La Rocca 1993b). The column played an important role in declarations of war against foreign powers made by the Fetials, a priestly college traditionally thought to have been instituted by King Numa. To declare a just war (*bellum iustum*), one of its members, acting on behalf of the group, threw a spear toward or over the column into the “foreign territory.” Augustus revived this Republican tradition before Actium, and apparently acted on behalf of the Fetials in casting a spear against Egypt; we will recall this tradition when we consider the Horologium-Solarium and the “Aeneas” panel of the Ara Pacis.

THE CIRCUS FLAMINIUS AND ARISTOCRATIC COMPETITION

In 220 the censor C. Flaminius Nepos regularized the fields (*prata*) along the Tiber by laying out a rectangular area known thereafter as the Circus Flaminius (Wiseman

1974a, 1976). As a large open area, it served primarily as a market and public meeting spot, but was also used as a site for funerary orations, like that given for Drusus Major by Augustus (Cassius Dio 55.2.2). It also formed the staging point for triumphs: here the spolia of triumphators were exhibited to public view, and generals awarded decorations and rewarded their subordinates just before the triumphal procession (*pompa*) took place (Livy 39.5.17; Versnel 1970). After it formed up, the triumphal procession passed east and south through the Forum Boarium, up the long side of the Circus Maximus, turned north between the Palatine and Caelian Hills, and then west to traverse the Forum Romanum, culminating in the sacrifice by the triumphator on the Capitoline hill.

Customarily, even generals who were awarded the lesser honor, an *ovatio*, were expected to embellish the city with new temples or public buildings, or repair those founded by their ancestors that had fallen into disrepair. A recent survey of the evidence by D. Weigel (1998; also Gruen 1984) has shown that the architectural development of the area around the Circus Flaminius was almost entirely the result of dedications by individuals who had held military imperium, whether or not they eventually celebrated a triumph. Successful commanders made use of a portion of their booty (*praeda* or *manubiae*) to finance these projects, though the extent to which they were free to use their spoils without restriction has been the subject of debate (K. Vogel 1953; Schatzman 1975, 177–205; Aberson 1994; Churchill 1999). The creation of such public display (*publica magnificentia*) was both a right and a responsibility of the great senatorial families, and the southern Campus Martius gradually came to serve as a stage upon which major families competed with one another through campaigning for office and through building or repairing increasingly elaborate public buildings that bestowed *dignitas* and *auctoritas* upon their donors (Pietilä-Castren 1987; Patterson 1992, 194; Ziolkowski 1992).

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Circus Flaminius itself became the principal focus of attention for these building activities, and between the late third century and the mid-first century, a series of important structures increasingly gave architectural definition to the area. Eleven victory temples are recorded, though not all have been identified through excavation: Vulcan, Neptune, Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina, Hercules Custos, Hercules Musarum, Fortuna Equestris, Mars, Castor and Pollux, Diana, and Pietas.

The string of temples along the north side of the Circus Flaminius included the paired shrines of Jupiter Stator (erected in the last quarter of the third century) and Juno Regina, constructed in 187 by M. Aemilius Lepidus. Another shrine was dedicated to Hercules and the Muses (Cancik 1969; Claridge 1998, 221); it was funded by M. Fulvius Nobilior following his campaigns in Ambracia in northwest Greece, and built after his triumph of 187, either *ex manubiis* or *ex pecunia censoria*. Greek statues of the nine Muses, by an unknown artist, were taken from Ambracia and set up along with a figure of Hercules playing the lyre; they may have served as models for the

Muses represented on the coins of Q. Pomponius Musa. The temple itself, apparently a round structure like the shrine of Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium, may have displayed the statues around its walls on the interior. After the Temple of Honos and Virtus, on the southeast side of the city, was struck by lightning, a bronze shrine (*aedicula*) to the Muses was transferred here, said to have been a dedication by King Numa. Here Fulvius Nobilior also set up a copy of the *Fasti* with a commentary—an important document, since through it he situated himself publicly within Rome's history.

The positions of two other temples at the west end of the Circus have recently been determined: the Temple of Neptune (under the church of S. Salvatore in Campo), already standing by the end of the third century (Tucci 1999), and the shrine of Hercules Custos (under Monte de'Cenci), usually dated to ca. 220, although Ovid (*Fasti* 6.209–12) implies a Sullan foundation (Ziolkowski 1992, 50–56). Near the southwest corner of the Circus Flaminius, not far from the banks of the Tiber, stood a Temple of Castor and Pollux, possibly belonging to the second-century walls below the church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci (Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984, 1986; Rodríguez-Almeida 1988; Patterson 1992, 197; Ziolkowski 1992, 117–19). The Severan colossal statues of Castor and Pollux on the Capitoline probably come from this temple.

THE LARGO ARGENTINA

Over time, the space around the borders of the Circus Flaminius became more restricted. Several monuments, including two of Augustan date (G. Alföldi 1990, 667–90), and a row of four temples, were constructed along a line to the north, in the direction of the Saepta. These structures, partially visible today in the open excavated area of the Largo Argentina, were altered and restored several times in the Republican and imperial periods. Since their ancient designations are contested, the temples are conventionally labeled A–D from north to south. The circular Temple B is probably that of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (Good Fortune on This Day), vowed by cos. Quintus Lutatius Catulus at the battle with the Cimbri and Teutones at Vercellae on 30 July 101 (Coarelli 1981a, 37–46). Like other shrines, it contained many notable works of art, including fragments of a colossal acrolithic statue now in the Capitoline Museum. The low, circular podium supports a colonnade of Corinthian columns. According to Pliny (34.54, 60), this temple (or another to the same divinity) was home to statues by Pythagoras of Samos, and three more that were said to be works of Pheidias.

For the other temples, various identifications have been proposed (Ziolkowski 1992, 62–67). Temple A, of third-century date, has often been identified as the shrine of Juturna, vowed by L. Aemilius Papus in 225, after the battle of Telamon (Marchetti Longi 1960, 138; Coarelli 1983a; but see Castagnoli 1948, 171–74). Temple C, vowed by G. Lutatius Catulus in 242, is the earliest of the four temples of Largo Argentina, and

has often been identified as that of the Sabine goddess Feronia (Castagnoli 1948, 169–75; Coarelli et al. 1981, 14–15, 40–42; cf. Ziolkowski 1986; Claridge 1998, 217).

Ziolkowski (1986; 1992, 27, 94–97) has suggested reversing the identifications: Feronia for A and Juturna for C. Not only would a water system within the precinct of Temple C be more appropriate for Juturna, a divinity connected with water, but this identification would also attribute the middle two temples to the Lutatii Catuli, flanked by two temples attributed to the Aemilii—their organization a specific reflection of elite competition.

For our purposes here, however, the Largo Argentina temples are important for three main reasons: they represent a third-century urban expansion in the direction of the central Campus Martius, they link the Circus Flaminius with the Saepta, and they were erected from spoils of war and maintained by the competing noble families of the Aemilii and the Lutatii Catuli. Thus, as voters walked from the Circus Flaminius toward the Saepta, these religious buildings recalled names of some of the very families that frequently produced candidates for office.

Another temple has been located opposite the Largo Argentina temples to the east, just south of the (later) Diribitorium, bordering the Via della Botteghe Oscure. This may be the Temple of the Lares Permarini, vowed in 190 by L. Aemilius Regulus and dedicated by the censor Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in 179 (Macrobius *Sat.* 1.10.10; Livy 40.52.4, 39.58.4), or the shrine of Nymphae in Campo Martio (Ziolkowski 1992, 120–22). The temple was architecturally impressive for its time: peperino columns with bases and Corinthian capitals of travertine. Marble was used to sheath the podium and for the entablature, perhaps in a late Republican or early imperial refurbishment.

FROM TEMPLES TO PORTICOES

The second century saw the introduction into Rome of a new, Hellenistic, type of structure: the porticus with colonnades, creating a self-contained, inward-looking unit. The earliest of these, the Porticus Octavia, built by Cn. Octavius in 167, stood along the north side of the Circus Flaminius and commemorated his victory at sea against Perseus of Macedon (Olinder 1974).

Shortly after his triumph of 146, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonius constructed the Porticus Metelli near the Porticus Octavia; the two enclosures share the same orientation. The colonnades of this portico defined a rectangular boundary around the two existing temples in the center, those of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. The open spaces of the Porticus Metelli also provided a setting for the display of the Granikos Monument, a group of life-sized bronze equestrian statues of Alexander and his companions by Lysippos, which Metellus had taken as spolia from Macedon (Velleius Paterculus 1.2.3–4; Rolley 1999, 341–42). Other Hellenistic works were presumably placed in the Temple of Jupiter Stator at this time (Pliny 36.35): a statue group representing the

struggle between Pan and Olympos by Heliodoros, and two Venuses (Aphrodites), one by Doidalsas and the other by Polycharmus. Finally, ca. 100, a seated statue of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was set up there, making her the first woman to be honored with a public statue in Rome (Coarelli 1978; Flory 1993). After his consulship in 110, M. Minucius Rufus enclosed the Temple of the Lares Permarini in his Porticus Minucia Vetus.

These porticoes established settings for the display of art and created protected environments that encouraged spectators to walk around and consider at leisure what they saw. By the end of the second century, other monuments had begun to fill the open spaces outside the porticoes. In front of the Temple of Neptune, for example, the marble reliefs known as the Domitius Ahenobarbus Monument were assembled, probably as decoration for a base that supported statues, attributed to Skopas, of marine divinities. The carved panels, now divided between Paris and Munich, have been the subject of much discussion (D. Kleiner 1992, 50 fig. 31; Coarelli 1968; Wiseman 1969; 1974b, 160–64; Hafner 1972), but A. Kuttner convincingly suggests (1993) that the scenes, which combine a locally carved Roman census with an (imported) East Greek thiasos of sea gods and other creatures, commemorated the activities of L. Antonius, grandfather of the later triumvir, Mark Antony.

POMPEY AND CAESAR: THE LATE REPUBLICAN EXPANSION IN THE CAMPUS MARTIUS

During the last century of the Republic (ca. 130–30), political authority in Rome was slipping from the general control of aristocratic families into the hands of individuals like Marius. Whereas the dictator Sulla had confined his building activities mainly to the Forum Romanum and Capitoline Hill, Pompey found that the area north of the Circus Flaminius and west of Largo Argentina offered a suitable area for expansion. By opening this area, Pompey significantly changed the architectural complexion of the central Campus Martius.

Pompey's three decennial triumphs, in 81, 71, and 61, were famous for their element of spectacle and surprise (van Ooteghem 1954; Rawson 1970). In his triumph over Africa in 81, for example, Pompey attempted to enter the city in a triumphal chariot drawn by elephants, but the gates were too narrow (Pliny 8.4; cf. Plutarch *Pomp.* 14.3). The triple triumph of 61 was even more impressive, and new buildings were erected afterward, monumentalizing the occasion (Appian *Rom. hist.* 12.17.116–17; Pliny 37.6–7, 11–20; Plutarch *Pomp.* 45; Cassius Dio 37.21.2; Gianfrotta et al. 1968–69; Capoferra Cencetti 1979; Frezouls 1983; Quilici 1983; Sauron 1987; Kuttner 1999a; Phillips 2001). The celebration coincided with Pompey's birthday, lasted for three days, and commemorated his victories over a wide-ranging host of adversaries. Pompey thus became the first Roman to present his victories to the public in cosmic terms, as a conquest of

the known world, and for this he became “Pompey the Great,” as Appian states (*Rom. hist.* 12.17.121):

Thus, because their [the Romans’] hegemony had increased because of the Mithridatic War, from Spain and the Pillars of Herakles to the Euxine sea, and the sands which lie before Egypt, and the Euphrates river, and this victory was great, Pompey the general was also called “The Great.”

Lest anyone miss the point, Pompey rode on this occasion in a gem-encrusted chariot and wore the cloak of Alexander the Great (he had taken it from King Mithridates). Following his chariot were his officers on horseback and on foot. It was clear at the time that Pompey was elsewhere proclaiming himself a world conqueror; an inscription at Miletopolis identifies him as “warden of land and sea” (Dessau 1892–1916, 9459; cf. Manilius 1.793–94). But in Rome Pompey refused the honors proposed for him, except the right at games to wear a laurel wreath, a general’s cloak, and triumphal dress (Cassius Dio 37.21.3–4). Thus Pompey modeled humility for other generals—including Augustus—to emulate and improve upon.

The spoils displayed in the Circus Flaminius and then paraded through the streets of Rome were meant to astonish and impress: a huge game board of precious minerals, a golden moon weighing thirty pounds, three gold dining couches, enough gem-encrusted gold vessels to fill nine display stands, and gold statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo. One elaborate creation consisted of a gold mountain decorated with deer, lions, fruit, and a gold vine; it may have been inspired by a Persian hunting park (*parádeisos*). Other exotica that evoked distant lands were myrrhine vessels, the first ever exhibited in Rome; objects of this material subsequently commanded extraordinary prices among collectors and connoisseurs. Two horse carts and litters were piled high with gold and other ornaments, and wagons carried arms and beaks of ships. Pearls featured prominently in several displays, including thirty-three pearl crowns and a portrait in pearls of Pompey himself, with the hair swept back from his forehead, evidently in imitation of the *anastolē* of Alexander the Great. A Sanctuary of the Muses (*musaeum*), likewise made of pearls with a sundial (*horologium*) set in or above its pediment, blended science and art in typical Hellenistic fashion; this object will be important when we consider Augustus’s Horologium-Solarium.

There was also a prominent display of royal regalia and personnel, sometimes represented through pictures or *tableaux vivants*. Carried in procession were the couch of Darius son of Hystaspes, the throne and scepter of Mithridates Eupator, and the image of Mithridates himself in gold, eight cubits high. Defeated peoples and their ruling families also appeared. Preceding Pompey in the parade were 324 satraps, their sons, pirates in native costumes, and other captives, while images substituted for individuals who could not be present. The figures of Tigranes and Mithridates were represented several times: fighting, fleeing, and vanquished. Accompanying the

human figures were images of barbarian gods, as if they, too, had been subjugated by Rome.

The written word also played an important role in the triumph, and a *pinax* listed spoils, the names of conquered kings, 800 captured ships with bronze beaks, and eight conquered cities in Cappadocia, twenty in Cilicia and Coele-Syria, and Seleucis in Syria. Another exhibit was a trophy representing the civilized world (*oikouménē gē*), likewise identified by inscription (Cassius Dio 37.21.2).

Over several years following the triumph, Pompey had his architects lay out along an east-west axis a complex that included the first and largest stone-built theater in Rome, with a Temple of Venus Victrix (his patron divinity) situated at the top of the cavea (fig. 3). From this height, her cult statue surveyed the rest of the complex (Pollini 1996). Associated with her were Felicitas (Happiness), Honos, and Virtus. Directly adjacent to the theater on the east was a quadriporticus enclosing a garden, along whose north side ran another colonnade with 100 columns, the Hecatostylum. At the eastern end of the complex, a curia for meetings of the Senate connected with the row of four earlier Republican temples in the Largo Argentina. Dividing the *scaena* of the theater from the quadriporticus, an impressive wall with a triple gateway contained a *regia* or royal gate in the center, flanked to either side by *hospitalia*, or entrances for visitors. This tripartite arrangement may have been mirrored at the other end of the enclosed garden, where a pair of rooms flanked the central curia.

Following a tradition already well established in Rome, Pompey's buildings were lavishly adorned with programmatic displays of statuary. The curia contained an over life-sized statue of Pompey (height 3 m), perhaps the one now housed in the Palazzo Spada (Faccenna 1956; Arnaud 1984). It represented a type of honorific image new in Rome: Pompey was shown heroically nude but for a mantle and baldric; like a Hellenistic monarch or *kosmokrátōr*, he holds in his left hand a globe, representing either the inhabitable world or the celestial globe.

Elsewhere in the complex were fourteen figures representing the nations he had conquered and statues of the Muses (Pliny 36.41; Coarelli 1971–72; Coarelli and Sauron 1978; M. Fuchs 1982; Smith 1988; Liverani 1995). Tatian describes some of the mythological works in the complex (*Ad Gr.* 34–35): Aesop, Sophron, Apollo and the Muses, the satyr Maro, Ganymede, Harmonia/Concordia, two Europas, Pasiphae, Phalaris (tyrant of Akragas), and Polyneikes fighting Eteokles. A gallery with portraits of important women was an innovative addition. These embellishments transformed the complex into a kind of museum of culture and a permanent reminder of the themes that had been paraded earlier in his triumph. Thus the ephemeral became eternal. Within the quadriporticus, the openings between the columns were draped with rich tapestries of gold, and in front of the curia hung a famous painting by the fifth-century Greek artist, Polygnotos (Pliny 35.58–59). A grove of plane trees stood outside the Hecatostylum, with bronze statues of wild animals, forming a perpetual menagerie (Martial 11.47).

Figure 3

Although supposedly inspired by the Greek theater at Mytilene on Lesbos, whose design had been studied by Pompey's army architects and engineers, Pompey's theater was a Roman creation with Italic elements (Plutarch *Pomp.* 42.4). The location of the Temple of Venus Victrix at the top of the cavea recalls the earlier tradition of theater temples in Italy, exemplified by the complex of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and the Temple of Hercules at Tibur. But the Roman edifice was regal in scale, with an exterior diameter of 500 feet: it may have held as many as 40,000 spectators (twice the number of the largest theater in Greece, at Megalopolis). The pediment of the Venus temple stood some 40 meters above ground level, making this the highest building in the Campus Martius until the erection of the Mausoleum of Augustus, approximately a kilometer to the north.

What exactly did Pompey intend by such *publica magnificentia*? V. Jolivet has suggested that the complex represented a counterpart to the Roman Forum and a predecessor to the imperial fora, but triumphal allusions predominate. Venus Victrix was the sponsor of Pompey's victories (Tertullian *De spect.* 10), the complex was constructed *ex manubiis*, and the statues representing conquered nations included those over which he had personally been victorious. Other scholars have suggested that the complex was designed to provide pleasure and entertainment for the Roman public, with an ulterior motive on the part of the donor—this was, after all, the general area of the Campus Martius where voters gathered to decide elections, and they could not fail to be impressed by such a display. But G. Sauron has also suggested (1987) that the complex had a cosmological significance as an architectural recreation of Pompey's victories.

The extent to which Pompey was personally identified with his theater complex is illustrated by the dream that Lucan attributes to him. On the night before he lost the battle of Pharsalus, "he dreamed that he was sitting in his own theater and saw in a vision the countless multitudes of Rome; and that his name was lifted to the sky in their shouts of joy, while all the tiers vied in proclaiming his praise. Such was the aspect of the people, such was their loud applause, in his distant youth, at the time of his first triumph" (7.9–14).

To emphasize his personal identification with the theater complex, Pompey also built a villa nearby and laid out extensive gardens, the Horti Pompeiani (Plutarch *Pomp.* 40.5; Jolivet 1983; Grimal 1984, 125–28; Gleason 1989, 1990, 1994; Favro 1996; Bodel 1997; cf. Jolivet 1997; Palmer 1990, 11–22), although he already had an impressive house on the Carinae near the east end of the Forum Romanum. In these gardens, Pompey made a distribution of money to the people in 61 at his third and last triumph, blurring the distinction between public and private spaces (Plutarch *Pomp.* 44.4).

Soon after Pompey's last triumph, Julius Caesar began to monumentalize the nearby Saepta, probably as a means of competing with Pompey's impressive buildings. The structure was immense, approximately 100 meters long and 40 wide. In addition, Caesar evidently planned, but did not live to complete, a series of other buildings in the Campus Martius. Construction for a theater overlooking the Campus, perhaps

built into the side of the Capitoline Hill, was not even begun, though ground was cleared for the project (Purcell 1999). Other proposals included rechanneling the course of the Tiber. This last project in particular suggests monarchical aspirations.

Whatever Pompey's intentions may have been, he did not live to enjoy his complex and gardens for long. The theater and porticoes were dedicated in 55. After the resumption of the Civil Wars, he was assassinated in Egypt in 48. His enemy Julius Caesar did not long survive him. In a well-known ironic twist of fate, Caesar was assassinated in 44 in Pompey's curia, at the foot of Pompey's over life-sized statue (Plutarch *Caes.* 66). Eventually Octavian closed the hall where his adoptive father had died: the statue of Pompey was removed to the arch at the west end of the garden, and Polygnotos's painting transferred to another location (Plutarch *Pomp.* 42). Later, Augustus recorded his restoration of the buildings, though he did not allow his name to be inscribed on them (Tiberius followed suit when he restored the complex again).

After the death of Pompey in 48, his properties changed hands several times. Antony gained possession of his gardens and other goods, either by purchase from Julius Caesar or as a gift from him; there, in the *Horti*, in 44 Antony received the young Octavian when Caesar's will was read (Cicero *Phil.* 2.27.67; Velleius Paterculus 2.60; Appian *B civ.* 3.14). After Antony's defeat at Actium, these properties came to Agrippa and perhaps to T. Statilius Taurus, who built his stone amphitheater on part of them in 30 (Cassius Dio 51.23.1; Suetonius *Aug.* 29.4–5; Welch 1994).

THE ROLE OF AGRIPPA

Marcus Agrippa, who eventually acquired much of Pompey's property, was unquestionably the greatest builder in the southern Campus Martius (Shipley 1933; Grimal 1942–43; Lloyd 1979; Roddaz 1984; Tortorici 1990). He transformed Pompey's private holdings into public property and made them a showpiece for some of the policies of the new regime. Agrippa's speech on the importance of making art accessible to the public set the agenda: "making all paintings and statues national property, which would have been better than sending them into exile at country estates" (Pliny 35.26; cf. Pape 1975; Galsterer 1994).

After Caesar's death, work at the Saepta Julia continued under the triumvir Lepidus and then Agrippa; the sheer size of the enclosure probably meant that there was much to be done before its dedication in 26 (Cassius Dio 53.23.1–2). Two flanking long colonnades housed important collections of art: the Porticus Meleagri on the east and the Porticus Argonautorum on the west. The building was richly decorated, and F. Castagnoli (1981) is surely correct in detecting Alexandrian influence, especially that of the Caesareum, in the layout and artistic embellishment of the precinct. The colonnades were lined with paintings and marble plaques, perhaps relief panels like those found immured along the walls of garden colonnades in houses at Pompeii and

Herculaneum, but larger in scale (Cassius Dio 53.23.2). Sculptural groups on display included Chiron with Achilles and Pan with Olympos, attributed to Praxiteles or Skopas (Pliny 36.29). A large painting or statue group representing Jason and his followers gave its name to the Porticus Argonautorum, though individual statues of the heroes might have occupied niches in the walls, traces of which have survived (Cassius Dio 53.23.2; Gatti 1940, 61–73).

The Diribitorium, just south of the Saepta and north of the late Republican Porticus Minucia, was begun by Agrippa and finished after his death by Augustus. When it was finally completed in 7, it provided the largest roofed area in the city, and one of the long beams of larch used to roof it was eventually displayed in the adjoining Saepta.

Ironically, however, the Augustan Saepta and Diribitorium were completed just as their intended political importance began to decline. The structures were planned originally as the voting precinct for the comitia centuriata and tributa and the place for counting votes, but under Augustus elections were gradually curtailed, and the buildings began to serve for games and public displays. The large central area of the Saepta could be used for gladiatorial games, as a place for public assembly, and a meeting place for the Senate during the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 (Suetonius *Aug.* 43.1, *Tib.* 17.2; Cassius Dio 56.1.1; *CIL* 6.323.23.50). Nearby stood a temple to the Egyptian gods Serapis and Isis, ratified by the Senate in 43 (Cassius Dio 47.15.4, 53.2.4; Gatti 1943). The worship of these imported divinities, however, was controversial, and their cult within the pomerium was periodically suppressed.

In the center of the Campus Martius, to the north of Pompey's complex, Agrippa constructed three buildings alongside an artificial lake, the Stagnum Agrippae, on the approximate site of the archaic Palus Caprae, site of Romulus's disappearance. These structures included a Pantheon, the Basilica of Neptune, and the Baths of Agrippa (Cassius Dio 53.27.1–4). Because it was later replaced by Hadrian's famous construction, the form of Agrippa's Pantheon has proved difficult to recover, and even the proper identification of the building is debated: recently A. Ziolkowski (1994) has argued that "Pantheon" is really a later misnomer for the Temple of Mars in Campo (cf. Loerke 1982; Coarelli 1983b; Davies 2000, 140). The building probably faced north and may have resembled the Temple of Concord in the Forum Romanum.

Nevertheless, literary information about some of the lavish details survives. The pediment of the Pantheon held noted sculptures by Diogenes of Athens (Pliny 36.38), and caryatids on columns with bronze capitals perhaps stood in the pronaos (Pliny 34.13). At least two of these figures may have been reused by Hadrian in the Canopus of his villa at Tivoli (Broucke 1999). Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates (3.27.3) that Agrippa had intended to call the building the "Augusteum" and proposed to erect a statue of the princeps inside, an honor that Augustus refused. A compromise solution was to include a statue of Julius Caesar among the gods, with statues of Agrippa and Augustus in the porch (Cassius Dio 43.27.3; Fraschetti 1990; Tortorici 1990; Fishwick 1992b; Thomas 1997; Broucke 2000).

Architectural traces of Agrippa's Pantheon survive under the preserved Hadrianic structure; these suggest the existence of a wide porch facing north, fronting a circular building open to the sky, rather than with a vaulted roof. On the assumption that the Augustan building faced north, several scholars have suggested that the Pantheon was oriented toward another circular structure 500 Roman feet to the north (740 m): the Mausoleum of Augustus, which is approximately contemporary (Davies 2000). Although this hypothesis is attractive, we should note that the entrance of the Mausoleum was oriented slightly to the west of the proposed line that connects the two buildings; thus, it is clear that the two structures were not precisely aligned, even if they were connected by lines of sight.

The Basilica of Neptune is contemporary with the Pantheon, and its general location immediately south of the Hadrianic Pantheon is known, though its function and decoration are unknown (Cordischi 1990). Situated nearby were the *Thermae* and *Stagnum Agrippae*, both presumably fed by Agrippa's aqueduct, the *Aqua Virgo*, which was completed in 19, at which time the baths, perhaps begun in 25, could have been used to their full capacity. Although the size of the artificial lake is not known, it reportedly was large enough to hold several small vessels at one time, and was surrounded by parks or gardens—Strabo mentions a grove (13.1.19). A canal, known as the *Euripus* only in modern times, drained the waters from this area through a long channel that emptied into the Tiber at the western end of the *Campus Martius*.

Several suggestions have been made for the location of the extensive *Horti Agrippae*, but the likeliest candidate is the western side of the central *Campus Martius*, near the *Stagnum Agrippae*. These gardens are probably partly contiguous with the *Horti Pompeiani*. Famous works of art graced the gardens, including a lion by Lysippos and a figure by Lykios, son of Ktesidemos, whose signed base has been excavated. After Agrippa's death, his gardens and baths passed to Augustus, who opened both to the public (Cassius Dio 54.29.4), unlike some contemporary gardens on the Esquiline and Quirinal hills that remained in private hands.

To the east, across the *Via Lata/Flaminia*, lay the *Campus Agrippae* and the *Porticus Vipsaniae*, built by his sister, where a map of the world was displayed (Pliny 3.17; Cassius Dio 55.8; Moynihan 1985; Rodriguez 1992; Trouset 1993). Thus, by his death, Agrippa had extended a string of important edifices, framed by public gardens, across the entire *Campus* from east to west.

THE AUGUSTAN TRANSFORMATION

When Agrippa died suddenly in 12, Augustus clearly sensed an obligation to finish his friend's uncompleted projects; he turned, for instance, the *Campus Agrippae* into public property. In his will, Agrippa himself had provided an endowment that supported keeping his baths open to the public (Castagnoli 1948; Waurick 1973; Wallace-Hadrill

1989). Other members of the princeps' family also contributed, either through the refurbishment of existing structures or the construction of new ones.

A significant development of the Augustan period is the rebuilding and rededication of Republican structures in the southern Campus Martius in the name of the princeps and his close relatives, thus gradually curtailing (but not completely stopping) the participation of the great Republican noble families (Eck 1984; cf. the debate in 22 CE under Tiberius: Tacitus *Ann.* 3.72). Augustus refurbished the Porticus Octavia, originally constructed in 168, in honor of his victory over Dalmatia in 33; legionary standards lost to the enemy and then recovered were housed there (Pliny 34.13; Velleius Paterculus 2.1.2; Appian *B Civ.* 28; Augustus *Res Gestae* 19; Cassius Dio 49.43.8; Festus 188L mentions two buildings called Porticus Octavia, one near the Theater of Pompey and the other near the Theater of Marcellus—cf. L. Richardson 1992, 316). Augustus's stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus, restored the Temple of Hercules and the Muses in 29 and erected the Porticus Philippi around it (Gianfrotta 1986; Castagnoli 1983). After a fire in 31, Octavia Minor, the full sister of Augustus, rebuilt the second-century Porticus Metelli, calling it, after herself, the Porticus Octaviae (Boyd 1953; L. Richardson 1976b). Augustus may have sponsored this project himself (although he does not mention it in the *Res Gestae*; Gigante 1999) in order to honor both Octavia as the mother of Marcellus, his intended heir, who died prematurely in 23, and Metellus, who, like Augustus, had also been censor (in 131) and who had delivered a speech that Augustus read to the Senate on increasing the number of children (*de prole augenda*; Suetonius *Aug.* 89); this was a project that Augustus himself was reviving in the early 20s (cf. Propertius 2.7). Thus, the renewal of a Republican complex would appeal to tradition while underscoring the moral and political concerns of the present.

In the Porticus Octaviae, Octavia also had the temples to Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator restored or reconstructed by two Spartan architects, presumably named Saurus and Batrachus, who were said to have signed their project by carving a lizard (*saúron*) and frog (*bátrakhos*) in relief on the columns (but cf. the frogs and lizards in the acanthus panels on the Ara Pacis, ch. 5). These architects also relocated the statue of Jupiter to the Temple of Juno (Pliny 36.42–43). The new complex included not only colonnades but also a library, a curia for meetings of the Senate, and *scholae* for lectures and meetings. The monumental gateway to the complex survives (albeit much restored in later periods), along with reliefs depicting sacral objects (Hofter et al. 1988, 364–69 no. 200, figs. 166 a–p).

Architectural projects were regularly undertaken in the Greek world by women of wealth and political standing, and we might consider that Octavia was acting within that tradition. After the untimely death of her son, Marcellus, in 23, Augustus had the theater that bears his name constructed next to her porticus (Fidenzoni 1970).

By the latter half of the Augustan period, the southern Campus was used for staging activities connected with members of the imperial family. In 10, for example, the funeral oration for Drusus was delivered in the Circus Flaminius, and in 2 the area was

flooded for the killing of thirty-six Egyptian crocodiles as part of the celebration for the dedication of the Forum of Augustus. Shortly after the death of Germanicus in 19 CE, a commemorative arch was erected to him in the Circus Flaminius, adding to the memorials of the imperial family (La Rocca 1987; Flory 1996).

A few individuals who were closely connected with Augustus, but not members of the imperial family, also participated in this process of architectural renewal. T. Statilius Taurus had performed important military actions on behalf of Augustus against Sextus Pompey and against Antony at Actium, and in Africa, for which he was awarded a triumph in 34; four years later he built Rome's first stone amphitheater at the western end of the Circus Flaminius. Although C. Sosius had originally supported Antony against Octavian, he was pardoned after Actium and was allowed to participate in the Secular Games in 17 and to initiate (at least) the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo in Circo (Medicus, now usually called Sosianus; Viscogliosi 1996; Dessau 1892–1916, 5050.150). Originally the temple was to be dedicated on 13 July 28, the birthday of Julius Caesar and the end of the *ludi Apollinares*, but the date was changed to 23 September to coincide with the dedication of Apollo Palatinus and the birthday of Augustus (*CIL* 1.12.330; Velleius Paterculus 2.86.2; Cassius Dio 51.24, 56.38.2). In its Augustan phase, the building had important political functions related to its position just outside the pomerium: the Senate received foreign embassies here, and made decisions about the awarding of triumphs.

The architectural embellishment of the building created a setting worthy of its several uses. Constructed entirely of white marble, with Corinthian columns of unusual design on Attic bases, the temple had a frieze of branches suspended between bucrania, punctuated at midpoints by elaborately carved candelabra. A Greek sculptural amazonomachy of early Classical date may have been installed in the pediment, although some of the figures do not belong to a pediment and others are not to the same scale (La Rocca 1985; Younger 2003). The appointments of the interior were equally sumptuous, with engaged columns of africano marble; their white marble Corinthian capitals were carved with Apollo's tripods and serpents as reminders of the god's prophetic abilities (according to one story, Apollo as a snake had impregnated Augustus's mother, Atia, when she slept in the temple; Suetonius *Aug.* 94.4). Spaced around the interior in the intercolumniations were alternating curved and triangular pediments with revetments of colored marble and gilded stucco, and the entablature frieze on the interior depicted a battle scene and triumph. An important collection of programmatic art was displayed within the building as well, including a group of Niobids attributed to Praxiteles or Skopas.

After his defeat of the Garamantes in North Africa in 19, another general, the Spaniard L. Cornelius Balbus, erected a stone theater north of the Theater of Marcellus, now buried under the Palazzo Mattei and Palazzo Caetani (Manacorda 1987). This theater was completed in 13, along with an adjacent portico, the Crypta Balbi. The dedicatory games occurred in the same summer in which Augustus returned from Gaul

and Spain, the event commemorated by the foundation of the Ara Pacis. Balbus's was the last public building in the Campus Martius to be dedicated by an individual not closely connected with Augustus or a member of his family.

The few public buildings aside, the sum effect of these changes was to remove the southern Campus Martius as an arena of competition among the senatorial families and to create loci where the princeps could interact with the public. Distinctions in status and rank were, of course, still maintained; the theaters, for example, contained separate seating areas for the different classes (Gros 1987; Parker 1999). But, in general, the Campus, like other areas of the city, began to be transformed into an Augustan or Julian family monument.

F U N E R A R Y D I S P L A Y

Because the Campus Martius lay outside the pomerium, some burials were permitted. During the later Republic, public burial at state expense (*funus publicum*) was awarded by decree of the Senate to a few individuals, usually foreigners of importance who were residing in Rome (Weinstock 1971, 348; Wesch-Klein 1993).

Early in the first century, the dictator Sulla was given a public funeral, the first securely attested in our sources for a Roman citizen. Because Appian refers to the royal splendor of the obsequies, and mentions the Campus as a place where kings had been buried, it is likely that Sulla's funeral was modeled on those of Hellenistic royalty, but it also clearly evoked a triumph. Sulla's body was carried into the Campus, "where only kings were buried," cremated, and buried there (Appian *B Civ.* 1.105–6; cf. Livy *Epit.* 90; Plutarch *Sul.* 38; Lucan 2.222). Since Sulla died at Puteoli on the Bay of Naples, his body had to be transported back to Rome; it was carried on a golden litter, preceded by trumpeters and horsemen, and followed by foot soldiers. In front were his standards and *fascēs*. At Rome, there was a huge procession, and his body was escorted by priests and priestesses in order to protect it from the crowds. Legions carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields followed, heralded by trumpeters. These sounds mingled with the farewell cries from senators, knights, soldiers, and plebeians.

While the body lay in state in the Forum near the rostra, the funeral oration was pronounced, and then the body was carried to the Campus Martius by senators, preceded by trumpeters and dancers and followed by men wearing the family masks (*imagines*) and by a display of 2,000 gold crowns awarded by various municipalities, soldiers, and friends. Women also participated by giving gifts, including a statue of Sulla with a lictor as a sign of his imperium, both made of frankincense and cinnamon wood. Following were priests, magistrates, members of the Senate, the equites, the people of Rome, and soldiers. After cremation, the ashes were buried in a tumulus that had been awarded by the Senate (Livy *Per.* 90; Plutarch *Luc.* 43.3); it was

later restored by Caracalla (Cassius Dio 78.13.7; Bayet 1971, 275–336; Davies 2000, 8–9). Matrons of the city then mourned Sulla for a year, as if he were their father.

Other individuals were subsequently given the right to be buried in the Campus, including Lucullus in 56 and Julia, the daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompey, in 54 (Suetonius *Iul.* 84.1; Weinstock 1971, 350, n. 1; Wiseman 1987; L. Richardson 1992, 402). Pompey probably would have been given a similar funeral, had he not been buried first in Egypt; his remains were subsequently interred in the gardens of his Alban villa. At the funeral of Julius Caesar, the overwrought mob anticipated his cremation in the Campus Martius on an already prepared pyre by cremating him in the Forum instead; his remains (like those of Julia Domna two centuries later) were probably buried in Julia's tomb, although he had actually been given the right of burial within the pomerium (Suetonius *Iul.* 84; Cassius Dio 44.7; Davies 2000, 9–10). A public tomb in the Campus was also provided for Hirtius and Pansa, the fallen consuls of 43.

We know that Agrippa prepared a tomb for himself somewhere in the Campus Martius. Its remains may be those discovered under the Piazza Sforza Cesarini near the Chiesa Nova in the late nineteenth century by Rodolfo Lanciani during the construction of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. While he interpreted these remains as the Ara Ditis and Persephone connected with the Secular Games, the inscriptions recording the games were found a considerable distance away. The low walls and carved blocks suggest instead a tomb, arguably Agrippa's (La Rocca 1984a, ch. 5) or, less likely, Julia's (Wiseman 1987): an altar surmounted by bolsters (*pulvinares*) like examples known at Pompeii and elsewhere. One enormous bolster, finely carved with laurel bound with a swastika meander band, is so close in style to similar decorations on the Ara Pacis that it may have been carved by some of the same artisans. There may also have been a cenotaph in the Campus Martius for Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons of Augustus, who died prematurely (Cassius Dio 78.24.3).

THE SECULAR GAMES AND THE CYCLE OF AGES

The Campus Martius also played a central role in Augustus's celebration of the Secular Games in 17 (Pighi 1962; Weiss 1973; Brind'Amour 1978; L. Moretti 1982–84; Poe 1984; Hall 1986; Zanker 1988, 167–72; Galinsky 1996, 100–106). The Games were celebrated at irregular intervals during the Republic, most recently in 146. But since at least the decade of the 40s, the cycle of ages and their renewal had been a matter of public interest perhaps in response to the uncertainties generated by the tumultuous political upheavals of the period but also due to the advancing of the sun from the constellation Aries into Pisces with the precession of the equinoxes (Vergil *Ecl.* 9.46–49; Servius *Ecl.* 9.46–49), which created as much anticipation of change as has the next, and modern, precession into Aquarius (Toll 1997, 35–36). Indeed, Neopythagorean philosophers were discussing the millenarian renewal of the world and the dawn of a

new “Great Year” (Carcopino 1930, 30–37); coins minted in 43 were struck with symbols of the Golden Age (A. Alföldi 1930, 369).

The Secular Games marked a significant and deliberate redirection of the Augustan principate, for whereas earlier occasions for the games had emphasized the propitiation of chthonic divinities and repeating cycles of years, the new performance focused on growth, renewal, fertility (particularly involving children and childbirth), and the greatness of Rome as it entered a new and Golden Age. In place of Dis and Proserpina as the main recipients of the sacrifices, the rites were now shared by other gods: the Moerae (Fates), the Ilithyiae (birth goddesses), Terra Mater, Jupiter, and Apollo and Diana, the divine siblings especially honored by Augustus.

A partial record of the Augustan Games survives, including two senatorial decrees and a prophecy from the Sibylline Books authorizing the celebration (Chisholm and Ferguson 1981). For the occasion, the poet Horace composed a poem, the Secular Hymn, to be sung by two choruses of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls. A priestly college, the Board of Fifteen for Making Sacrifices (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*), was in charge of the rites, with Augustus and Agrippa—both of whom held tribunician power at the time—acting as supernumerary presidents and co-celebrants.

To prepare for the Games, the members of the college met first in the Saepta and then distributed *suffimenta* for purification at various locations in Rome: the Capitoline Hill, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus on the Palatine, and the Temple of Diana on the Aventine. Because of the solemn nature of the rites, even those who should have been excluded for various ritual reasons were allowed to participate. The most important ceremonies took place at the Tarentum in the western Campus Martius, where a temporary theater without seating was set up along the banks of the Tiber.

A special sacrifice took place on each of the three nights of the festival. On the first night, Augustus offered a sacrifice at the Tarentum to the Moerae of nine ewe-lambs and nine she-goats according to Greek rites. Augustus’s prayer on this occasion and on the following days concluded with the prayer that the gods “look with kindly grace . . . on me, my family, and household.” Afterward, *ludi sollemnes* (Solemn Games) were presented at the temporary theater, and a select group of 110 matrons held a banquet (*sellisternium*) in honor of Juno and Diana as protectresses of mothers and children. Since Diana had a chthonic aspect, particularly emphasized in the Secular Hymn, it was perhaps natural that she replaced Proserpina, but she overshadowed Juno Regina as well.

On the second day, Augustus and Agrippa each offered a bull to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, followed by performances at the temporary theater, and the wives of free men held another *sellisternium*. That night, Augustus made an offering at the Tarentum to the Ilithyiae as goddesses of childbirth.

On the third day, Augustus and Agrippa each sacrificed a cow to Juno Regina on the Capitoline. That night Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow to Terra Mater, and the wives of free men held another *sellisternium*. We will come back to the importance of this last sacrifice in chapter 5.

The celebrations closed on the fourth day when Augustus and Agrippa offered bloodless sacrifices (*liba*, *popana*, and *pithoeis*) on the Palatine to Diana and Apollo; following the sacrifice, Horace's Secular Hymn was sung on the steps of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus adjacent to Augustus's house, looking out over the Circus Maximus toward the Aventine Hill; from there, a procession looped down the north side of the Palatine and followed the Via Sacra through the Forum to the Capitoline Hill, where the Hymn was sung again. Concluding rites were held in the Campus Martius at the temporary theater, and chariot races took place, followed for several days afterward by circus performances and other games. A record of the *ludi saeculares* was inscribed on a bronze and a marble column and set up near the Tarentum, where the rites took place.

CONCLUSION

This brief survey of the early history of the Campus Martius shows that it had been one of the principal arenas for self-expression by members of the senatorial aristocracy during the last centuries of the Republic. Triumphators competed with one another through the erection of buildings and their embellishment with works of art, especially bronze statuary and other works of art taken as *spolia* from Greece (table 2). Throughout the principate of Augustus, however, as he curtailed triumphs and triumphal display by the aristocratic families, we can trace a gradual replacement and refurbishment of these monuments by Augustus and the members of his immediate family, so that eventually the area became a Julian family monument—a transformation similar to the one taking place in the Forum Romanum.

Nevertheless, it is clear from our sources that Augustus and the members of his family actually made regular use of the Campus. Augustus took his own exercise in the Campus Martius early in his career, but abandoned the practice in his later years (Suetonius *Aug.* 83.1). And when Augustus was closing the census with a special sacrifice (*lustrum*) in the Campus Martius in 13 CE, the year before his death, he observed an eagle that flew by and perched on the letter *A* of Agrippa's name on a nearby temple, perhaps the Pantheon (Suetonius *Aug.* 98). Augustus then had Tiberius recite the public vows for the next five-year period, since he had a premonition that he would not live to carry them out.

The development of the urban landscape of Rome mirrored the changing fortunes of the Republic as it moved toward empire in the late first century. By the Augustan period, Strabo could justly describe the Campus Martius as one of the most beautiful areas of the city (5.3.8, here abbreviated):

The Campus Martius offers, in addition to its natural beauty, a well thought-out organization. Its size is wondrous, since it provides space not only for chariot races but also

for all manner of exercise. The works of art, the year-round grass, and the hills about the river, all look like a stage-set. And near this campus is another [Circus Flaminius?] ringed with numerous colonnades, sanctuaries, three theaters, and an amphitheater, and luxurious temples, giving the impression that the rest of the city is only an appendage. And also, because they think that this place is quite holy, they have built there the tombs of their most illustrious men and women.

Table 2. Works of art displayed in the Campus Martius

<i>Building</i>	<i>Artwork</i>	<i>Pliny, Naturalis historia</i>
Pantheon of Agrippa	statues by Diogenes of Athens: caryatids, acroteria	36.39
Porticus Metelli	bronze statues by Lysippos: Granikos Monument	34.64
Porticus Octaviae	painting by Antiphilus: Hesione	35.114
	painting by Antiphilus: Alexander, Philip, Athena	35.114
	painting by Artemon: Apotheosis of Hercules	35.139
	painting by Artemon: Laomedon, Hercules, Poseidon	35.139
	statue by Pheidias: Venus	36.15
	statue: Cupid (Alcibiades) holding thunderbolt	36.28
	statues: 4 satyrs, one carrying Liber, another Ariadne	36.29
	statues: 2 Breezes (<i>Aurae velificantes</i>)	36.29
Temple of Juno Regina (in Porticus Octaviae)	statue by Dionysius: Juno	
	statue by Polycles: Juno	
	statue by Philiscus: Venus	
	various statues by sons of Timarchides (Praxiteles, Polycles, Dionysius)	36.35–36
	statues by Cephisodotus: Asclepius and Diana	36.24
Temple of Jupiter Stator (in Porticus Octaviae)	statue by sons of Timarchides: Jupiter	36.35
	statue by Heliodorus: Pan and Olympus wrestling	36.36
	statue by Daedalsas: Venus bathing	36.36
	statue by Polycharmus: Venus standing	36.36
	ivory statue by Pasiteles: Jupiter	36.40
Porticus Philippi	painting by Zeuxis: Helen	35.66
	painting by Antiphilus: Father Liber/Dionysus	35.114
	painting by Antiphilus: young Alexander	35.114
	painting by Antiphilus: Hippolytus alarmed by bull	35.114
	paintings by Theorus: Trojan War series	36.144
Porticus Pompeii	14 bronze statues by Coponius: nations	36.41

Field of Dreams

Table 2 (*Continued*)

<i>Building</i>	<i>Artwork</i>	<i>Pliny, Naturalis historia</i>
	painting by Polygnotos: man with shield	35.58–59
	painting by Nikias the Younger: Alexander	35.132
	painting by Antiphilus: Cadmus and Europa	35.114
	painting by Pausias: sacrifice of oxen	35.126
Porticus ad Nationes of Augustus	Carthaginian cult statue of Hercules (Melkart)	36.39
Saepta Julia	sculptor uncertain: Pan	36.29
	sculptor uncertain: Achilles with Chiron	36.29
Temple of Apollo Sosianus	statues by Skopas or Praxiteles: Niobids	36.28
	statue group by Philiscus of Rhodes: nude Apollo with Leto, Diana, 9 Muses	36.34
	statue by Timarchides: Apollo with lyre	36.35
	Greek pedimental Amazonomachy	
Temple of Bellona	shields: ancestor portraits + inscriptions, Appius Claudius, 495	35.12
Temple of Felicitas	statues of Heliconian Muses	36.39
Temple of Hercules Musarum	statues from Ambracia removed by Fulvius Nobilior in 189	35.66
Temple of Neptune in Circo Flaminio	statues by Skopas: Neptune, Thetis, Achilles, Nereids, Tritons, etc.	36.26
Temple built by Brutus Callaecus (triumphator 132)	statue (colossal) by Skopas: seated Mars	36.26
	statue by Skopas: naked Venus	36.26
Fortuna Huiusce Diei	statue by Pheidias: Lady with keys (priestess?), dedicated by Aemilius Paullus	34.54
	statue by Pheidias: Athena, dedicated by Aemilius Paullus	34.54
	2 statues by Pheidias: figures wearing cloaks, dedicated by Catulus	34.54
	statue by Pheidias: colossal nude	34.54
	7 nude statues by Pythagoras of Samos	34.60
	statue by Pythagoras of Samos: old man	34.60
Thermae Agrippae	small paintings set into marble walls of caldarium	35.26
	statue by Lysippos: Apoxyomenos	34.62
Theater of Scaurus (temporary, 58)	360 imported marble columns	36.5
Temple of Mars in Circo Flaminio	colossal statues by Skopas: Mars and Venus	36.26

Last Things First

Ustrinum and Mausoleum

Whoever would sing of the tomb of Alexander the Macedonian,
should say that both continents are his memorial.

—Adaeus *Greek Anthology* 7.240

INTRODUCTION

In the decade and a half between the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 and his own triple triumph of 29, Octavian undertook relatively little public building in Rome of an official nature: the final phases of the Civil Wars, punctuated by short, uneasy periods of peace, precluded it. Available monies were being channeled elsewhere, mainly to pay armies or to settle veterans (Keppie 1983), and Octavian himself was often absent from Rome for extended periods. Others, however, sponsored public projects at this time (Cassius Dio 51.19.1–2, 51.23.1, 59.43.1–2; Shipley 1931). A tomb was erected for Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls who fell at the siege of Modena (Mutina) in 43. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus restored the Basilica Aemilia in 34 (Cassius Dio 59.42.2); in the same year, Agrippa restored the Aqua Marcia, and as aedile in 33 he repaired a number of buildings along with their sewer system and set up a series of dolphins and eggs as markers on the spina of the Circus Maximus.

Two major projects of the mid-thirties are the construction of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus on the Palatine and the completion of the Temple to Julius Caesar in the center of the Forum Romanum. The Temple of Apollo Palatinus with its colonnades and libraries was erected on a spot struck by lightning in 36, coincidentally near Octavian's home on the Palatine (Cassius Dio 49.15.5, 53.1.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3; Suetonius *Aug.* 29.1; Augustus *Res Gestae* 19). When completed, the Palatine temple was partially enclosed by parts of his house and thus brought Octavian into direct association with the god, an arrangement that seems deliberately designed to emulate Hellenistic palace

complexes like those at Alexandria and Pergamon (E. Simon 1957a, 30–44; Zanker 1983). The Temple to Caesar was begun by the triumvirs in 42 (Cassius Dio 47.18.4), but it is unlikely that much work was actually done on it until the late 30s. The resumption of work by Octavian alone and his dedication of it immediately following his triple triumph (18 August 29) helped legitimize him as the son of a god (*divi filius*; Gesche 1968) without making the controversial claim, still unacceptable in Rome, to divine status for himself.

The situation changed dramatically with Octavian's defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 (Gurval 1995) and the conquest of Alexandria in the following summer, when Egypt with all of its resources was made available to him and the province became his *de facto* personal possession (Tacitus *Ann.* 2.59; Becher 1969; Geraci 1983; Huzar 1988; Bowman and Rathbone 1992; Bowman 1996), a possession that was off limits, without the emperor's permission, to senators and sometimes even members of his own family (cf. Suetonius *Tib.* 52.2). In that year, 30, the Senate decreed arches for Octavian at Brundisium and in the Forum Romanum, and Statilius Taurus built and dedicated the first stone amphitheater in Rome.

After spending the winter of 30/29 in Asia, the victor returned to Rome in the summer to celebrate his conquests with a triple triumph, in clear imitation of Pompey and Caesar, on three consecutive days, 13–15 August. The previous day marked the anniversary of Cleopatra's suicide; and sacrifices to Hercules Invictus were made on 13 August (Bosworth 1999, 8).

In 29, the influx of new money into Rome provided ready financing for new construction, and the presence in the capital of Octavian himself provided the impetus for new works (Cassius Dio 51.17.6–8, 51.21.3–5; cf. Suetonius *Aug.* 41). At his triple triumph, Octavian gave 400 sesterces each to the plebs of Rome from his spoils, and 1,000 nummi to each of 120,000 veterans who had been settled in colonies (*Res Gestae* 15). Afterward, he dedicated the Temple of Minerva (Chalcidicum), the Curia Julia, and the Temple of Divus Julius, and had the Hellenistic statue of Victory from Tarentum decked out with the spoils of Alexandria (Pohlsander 1969).

It is against this background of renewed architectural activity that Octavian decided to plan for memorializing his death: choosing a formal place for his cremation (*ustrinum*) and, probably in 28, beginning construction of his monumental tomb, the Mausoleum, for the deposition of his ashes. At the time, Octavian was still Octavian, in his early thirties, and even though our sources indicate that he suffered from a galaxy of major and minor illnesses (Suetonius *Aug.* 81.1), these cannot account adequately for the decision to undertake funerary monuments so early in his career.

What may have motivated Octavian more was his knowledge of what had happened to other recent Roman heroes. Pompey had been ingloriously decapitated when he landed in Egypt in 48 (Cassius Dio 42.4–5); his remains were eventually taken to his wife, Cornelia, who buried them at his Alban villa (Plutarch *Pomp.* 79–80; cf. Lucan 8.795–99, 807–9, where Pompey's quaestor, Cordus, buries him). Perhaps Octavian

also feared public intervention at his funeral. Clodius's cremation in 52, when Octavian was only eleven, had resulted in riots in which public property was destroyed and the Curia was burned (Sumi 1997). As a young man of nineteen at Apollonia, he must have heard in dramatic detail how Caesar's cremation had gone astray: instead of a stately funeral in the Campus Martius, the crowd first attempted to cremate Caesar's body on the Capitoline before finally burning it in the Roman Forum, a spectacle run riot (Weinstock 1971, 346–55; Vogt 1973). Octavian's early construction of his Ustrinum and Mausoleum guaranteed that, whatever the vicissitudes of his later life, he would not likely share such fates. In the event, Tiberius published an edict in 14 CE requiring order during the funeral of Augustus and posted guards, just to be sure—the guards Tacitus made out to be so sinister (*Ann.* 1.8).

THE USTRINUM

So much attention has been paid to the Mausoleum that the separate place for his cremation ceremony, conventionally called a *ustrinum* (alternatively *ustrina*) or a *bustum* (Boatwright 1985; L. Richardson 1992, 351–2), has been somewhat neglected in discussions of the Augustan funerary preparations. A *bustum* is generally the enclosure around the site of the funeral pyre (*rogus*) where the ashes of the deceased would be buried following the cremation ceremony; it could be used over time by many members of the same family. A *ustrinum*, by contrast, seems to have been used only for the act of cremation, with the human remains then interred elsewhere or deposited within a built tomb (Festus 29L). During the Republic, funeral pyres were often prepared *ad hoc* after an individual's death, during the several days of preparation for the funeral (cf. Suetonius *Iul.* 84.1), and even aristocratic families who may have repeatedly used the same plot of land for their cremation rites did not necessarily formalize them architecturally.

It is uncertain what Octavian called his Ustrinum, since the sole contemporary account was written by a Greek writer, Strabo, sometime before his death:

The most noteworthy [tomb in the Campus Martius] is what is called the Mausoleum, on a tall foundation of white marble, a great mound at the river, planted thickly up to the summit with evergreens. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind is a great grove with wonderful promenades. And in the centre of the Campus is the wall (this too of white stone) around his crematorium [*kaústras*]; the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within it is planted with black poplars. (5.3.8; Loeb trans.)

The cremation would have taken place inside the (presumably low) marble wall. The iron fence probably prevented incursions by casual visitors. The presence of black

poplars is suggestive; they recall the grove of Persephone at the edge of the Underworld in Homer's *Odyssey* (10.509–10), and the leaves of black poplars were used in Neopythagorean burial ceremonies like that of Marcus Varro in 26 (Pliny 35.160). But poplars were also sacred to the sun god, Helios, who was often associated with Apollo, the patron divinity of Augustus (Antipater *Greek Anthology* 9.706).

The location of the Ustrinum has never been identified positively (Patterson 1992, 199; contrast M. J. Johnson 1996), but we should follow Strabo and look for it in the center of the Campus Martius; if so, the pyre would not have been too far from the Palus Caprae. In 1777, however, R. Venuti discovered an area paved in travertine (ca. 50 m square) at the intersection of the Corso and the Via degli Otto Canonici, immediately to the east of the Mausoleum of Augustus in the Largo dei Lombardi. Resting on this surface were an alabaster urn and six rectangular cippi, inscribed with the names of members of the family of Augustus and the formulaic inscriptions *hic crematus est* and *hic situs* (or *sita*) *est* (CIL 6.888–93; Visconti 1822, 169–78; Lanciani 1893–1901, pl. 8; Platner and Ashby 1929, 545; Frischer 1982–83, 73–75). Attractive though these finds are, they do not match Strabo's description of Augustus's own Ustrinum, and E. Tortorici has argued (1988) that it should be located farther to the south, somewhere between the Mausoleum and the Horologium-Solarium.

In an interesting and provocative article, V. Jolivet has gone a step further (1988; cf. Davies 2000, 167–68). Taking Strabo literally, he proposes locating the Ustrinum even farther to the south, near the known ustrina of Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and other emperors of the second century CE on the low hill originally called Monte Citorio (now usually Montecitorio), where the Parliament building stands today, overlooking the Palus Caprae, where Romulus had been transported to heaven (Briquel 1977; Buzzetti 1984; Kampmann 1985; Devallet 1989). For a number of reasons, this hypothesis provides an attractive solution to the topographical problem: it makes sense of Strabo's eyewitness description, explains the clustering of later imperial ustrina in this area as attempts by subsequent rulers to locate their pyres near Augustus's, and makes Augustus's Ustrinum serve as a counterpoise to his Mausoleum, the distance between the two monuments being appropriate for the solemn procession that conveyed his ashes. If Jolivet's proposal is correct (as I believe it is), it also implies that the Ustrinum of Augustus was reserved for the cremation of the princeps alone; the cippi from the Largo dei Lombardi, therefore, would mark the cremation sites of other members of the imperial family, closer to his Mausoleum.

Two second-century CE monuments from the Campus Martius support the notion that Montecitorio was considered important for imperial cremations. One is a well-known relief panel of Hadrianic date from the Arco di Portogallo depicting the apotheosis of the empress Sabina (D. Kleiner 1992, 253–54, fig. 222; Turcan 1995, 180 col. fig. 128; Davies 2000, 105, fig. 79). The second, created a generation later, is the column of Antoninus Pius, which marks the site of his pyre and commemorates the death and deification of the emperor and his wife, who had actually died twenty years earlier

(L. Vogel 1973; D. Kleiner and F. Kleiner 1982; D. Kleiner 1992, 285–87, fig. 253; Turcan 1995, col. fig. 274; Davies 2000, figs. 32–34, 163–65). The column, a monolithic shaft of red granite from Egypt, was erected on a cubical marble base and surmounted by a Corinthian capital of marble with a statue of the emperor (now lost). The column was originally one of a pair imported under Trajan, but in post-antique times it was cannibalized and used to repair the Augustan obelisk of the Horologium-Solarium (Ward-Perkins 1976). The base survives in the Vatican, much restored (Turcan 1975); one side carried an inscription in attached metal letters, while two other sides show the equestrian funerary parade around the pyre (*decursio*).

The fourth side (fig. 4) depicts the apotheosis of Antoninus: to the left a youthful male, probably a personification of the Campus Martius, reclines on the ground and embraces the obelisk of the Horologium-Solarium while the figure of Roma at the right sits on a pile of arms and armor; above and center, a winged youth bears the imperial couple on his back, flanked by a pair of imperial eagles in flight (Geyer 1967). The winged youth probably represents cosmic time (*Aeternitas* or *Aion*; Gury 1984) as marked out by the Horologium-Solarium, for in his left hand he cradles the celestial globe, draped with a serpent and carved with the cosmic symbols of the sun, moon, and band of the zodiac, through which the sun passes in a serpentine fashion (Küster 1913).

Figure 4

The two Hadrianic and Antonine reliefs thus underscore the symbolic significance of the imperial ustrina: here, as the flames liberated his spirit from the body, the emperor experienced his apotheosis, an event subsequently ratified by a decree of the Senate (Schilling 1980). Earth and heaven intersect at the pyre; the story of the immolation of Hercules on Mount Oeta offers a mythological paradigm. To symbolize this point visually for the Romans, an eagle was released from Augustus's pyre as the cremation ceremony began. Moreover, if situated on Montecitorio, Augustus's Ustrinum would have looked down immediately on the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis nearby, and farther to the north toward the Mausoleum.

THE MAUSOLEUM

For the deposition of his ashes after the cremation ceremony, Augustus planned a monumental tomb some distance away (fig. 5). Ancient sources use several words for such an edifice: *sema*, *sepulcrum*, *tumulus*, or—in the case of Augustus's tomb—Mausoleum (L. Richardson 1992; von Hesberg 1992). The various terms are not always used precisely, but a *tumulus* should refer to a mound of earth (Amand 1987; cf. Suetonius *Calig.* 3.2), and a *sepulcrum* can be above or below ground. A *monumentum*, by contrast, serves as a reminder of the deceased (Frischer 1982–83, 56) but need not be the location of the burial, and some individuals were commemorated by funerary altars (*arae*).

Figure 5

Since the chosen location for his Mausoleum was nearly a kilometer from the late Republican tombs in the southern Campus Martius, it seems clear that Octavian was deliberately distancing himself from the graves of other notable Romans, such as the fallen consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and the burial tumulus of Sulla (Lucan 2.222). More importantly, Octavian dissociated himself from his adoptive father, Caesar, who was probably buried in Julia's tomb (*tumulus Juliae*; Suetonius *Iul.* 84.1) in the southern Campus Martius. Octavian's choice of tomb site had other advantages: it may have been near the tomb of Romulus (Geige 2004); and it dominated all approaches to the city from the north, both by road and by river. Moreover, in this relatively undeveloped area of the city, Augustus could give free rein to new architectural ideas.

For the site of the Mausoleum, Octavian selected a triangle of land formed by the convergence of the Tiber and the Via Flaminia. Despite the flatness of the ground, the location was a commanding one, although the original setting is obscured by modern urban spread, the rising ground level, the nineteenth-century embankment of the Tiber, and the twentieth-century Fascist Piazzale Augusto Imperatore (Kostoff 1978). From the Tiber and the Flaminia, the tomb in its original state would have been the first sight for those entering Rome from the north, and the last for those leaving it. To the south, the tomb apparently looked out over a vast open area; in the distance, one could have seen the monumental buildings of Pompey and Caesar. With a total height of ca. 40 meters, the mound, crowned by a colossal statue of Augustus, dominated the surrounding public gardens unencumbered by encroaching buildings (cf. Suetonius *Aug.* 100.4).

In one sense, Octavian's choice of location reflects contemporary practice: during the late Republic monumental tombs were being erected in prominent roadside locations outside urbanized centers throughout Italy. These served individuals and families as a means of self-promotion, as well as sites for burial (cf. Kockel 1983). Other aspects of Octavian's choice, however, mark a clear break with tradition: the use of the tumulus form, the sheer monumentality of his Mausoleum, its location near water, the degree of architectural embellishment, his decision to erect a tomb relatively early in his career, and the eventual inclusion within it of some favored associates and family members (e.g., his intended heirs Marcellus in 23 and Agrippa in 12, and his sister Octavia in 11 and stepson Drusus Major in 9).

Although all scholars agree that the Mausoleum was among Augustus's earliest architectural projects, the precise date of its construction (before or after Actium?) remains a historical crux (Davies 2000, 50–51). Our main source for the date is Suetonius, who says that the tomb was built in Octavian's sixth consulship (i.e., 28; *Aug.* 28), at which time the gardens around it were also opened to the public (*Aug.* 100.4). His restoration of the Via Flaminia as far as Rimini, completed in 27, would have made it easy for residents of Rome to visit the tomb and gardens (Suetonius *Aug.* 30.1; Cassius Dio 53.22.1–2).

The scale of the monument, however, suggests that the tomb easily took some years to build, having perhaps been begun as early as 32 and simply completed in 28. If

so, the Mausoleum must have played an important role in the propaganda war between Octavian and Antony in the period leading up to Actium. As early as 34, Antony had aligned himself with Cleopatra by making the “Donations of Alexandria” in favor of his own children by her, along with Caesar’s son, Kaisarion. In 32 Octavian illegally published the will of Antony to the Senate, including the damning clauses that named Cleopatra’s children among his heirs, along with the statement that he wished to be buried with the Egyptian queen in Alexandria (Cassius Dio 50.3.3–5; Suetonius *Aug.* 17.1; J. R. Johnson 1976; cf. H. Benario 1975). In the same year Octavian invoked the archaic Fetial Law against Cleopatra and—by implication—against Antony, in order to declare them enemies of the state and justify his war against them (Cassius Dio 50.4.4–5). And after 30 Augustus “erased” Antony’s birthday (14 January) by declaring it a *dies vitiosus* when no public business could be transacted (Radke 1978; Suerbaum 1980).

If the tomb was at least being constructed before the Battle of Actium, it could have been interpreted as a symbol of his double commitment to be buried in Rome as a Roman citizen and to wrest Egypt from Cleopatra and Antony. The spoils from the Egyptian campaign may simply have allowed Octavian to finish the Mausoleum quickly, as suggested by Suetonius’s statement.

In these discussions, scant attention has been paid to the fact that the Mausoleum was built more than a mile beyond the pomerium; it was thus located in an area where Octavian exercised imperium *militiae* rather than imperium *domi* until after 23, when he held both types of power simultaneously (*imperium maius*). In 43, when Octavian marched unconstitutionally on Rome, he evidently entered the city from the north, and he quartered his forces in the Campus Martius while awaiting election to his first consulship (A. Alföldi 1958). The location of the Mausoleum near the Via Flaminia, therefore, seems a blunt reminder of Octavian’s military power. Whether one accepts a date of 32 or 28 for its construction, these chronological termini frame a period when Octavian’s legal source of authority was, at best, ambiguous: the triumvirate had lapsed in 32, and Octavian did not assume the title Augustus until 27.

Although the question of an early or late date for the erection of the Mausoleum cannot be resolved on present evidence, there are other indications that the tomb served political purposes (cf. Richard 1978, 1130). The decision to reward some individuals like Agrippa and Drusus by burying them in his tomb has already been mentioned. But even after his death, Augustus’s testamentary instructions denied burial in the Mausoleum to the two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, banished for immorality in 2 BCE and 8 CE, respectively (Suetonius *Aug.* 101.3; Cassius Dio 56.32.4). Later, Tiberius denied Agrippina Major and her sons, Nero and Drusus, burial in the Mausoleum as well (Cassius Dio 58.22.5). Thus, the tomb served as a locus where the politics of inclusion and exclusion were played out. In 1997 the modern world witnessed a parallel situation when the British royal family first rejected royal burial honors for Diana, Princess of Wales, and then recanted in the face of public opprobrium.

From the time of its construction, Roman sources recognized the special nature of Augustus's tomb; in the *Aeneid*, Vergil mentions the tomb as recently built. (It is, in fact, one of the few monuments of contemporary Rome that he names in his epic [*Aen.* 6.872–74], perhaps in deference to the recent burial there in 23 of Augustus's nephew, son-in-law, and intended heir Marcellus.) Strabo's eyewitness account calls it a "Mausoleum" in reference to one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (5.3.8).

So massive were the foundations of the Mausoleum that its location has never been lost. It served as a fortress in the Middle Ages, then a sculpture garden, the Teatro Correa for bullfights in the eighteenth century, and finally a theater; in the 1920s and 1930s, Mussolini ordered it cleared of centuries of accretions (Riccomini 1995; von Hase Salto 1997). Because a comprehensive architectural study of the Mausoleum has recently been published (von Hesberg and Panciera 1994), the salient points of the structure can be summarized briefly, though the reconstruction of its upper portions remains the subject of debate (see Reeder 1992; M. J. Johnson 1996; Davies 2000, 13–15, 137–42).

The scale and dimensions of the tomb are staggering. Its diameter measures 87 meters, the outer wall with frieze and cornice stood 12 meters high, and the top of the tumulus—excluding the statue of Augustus—must have approached 40 meters (fig. 6). It thus was much taller than the obelisk of the Horologium-Solarium later erected to the south of the tomb, and a little taller even than the pediment of the Temple of Venus that surmounted Pompey's theater, visible in the distance. Its importance is undisputed, as Hadrian's Mausoleum, modeled on that of Augustus, attests from across the Tiber (Boatwright 1987, 161–75; Davies 2000, 34–40).

The structure consists of five concentric annular passages of brick-faced concrete connected by subsidiary walls to create casemates. This internal buttressing of the Mausoleum is not a feature of Etruscan or Greek mounded structures, and J. Reeder has suggested that it is dependent on Roman military architecture (Reeder 1992, 266). The casemates of the tomb were filled with rubble, except for a long entrance passageway leading to the three inner corridors that encircled a central pier; here, the cremated remains of members of the imperial family were housed in urns, some of which have survived (e.g., that of Agrippina Major: Nash 1968, 2:43, fig. 725). The massive masonry rings supported a mound of earth over the tomb, which was planted with cypress trees, while the inner ring and pier—apparently much taller than the others—provided a support for the statue.

In a recent investigation, P. Davies (2000) has compared the construction of Augustus's tomb to monuments in Egypt like the Medum pyramid of Sneferu (Fourth Dynasty) and the third-century Pharos at Alexandria. It seems unnecessary to look so far afield, however. Instead, the buttressing of Augustus's tomb is better interpreted as a development based on an Italic tradition seen in the substructures of complexes like the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina and the Temple of Fortuna at Praeneste. Moreover, the late Republic is precisely the period when Roman architects

Figure 6

and engineers were experimenting with colossal concrete structures at villas along the Italian coast. One semicircular fishpond at La Saracca (Asturia) has a diameter (90 m) even greater than that of the Mausoleum (87 m) and was constructed so as to have the concrete set underwater (Higginbotham 1997, 137–40). Similar skepticism should be applied to attempts (e.g., Davies 2000) to connect the interior of the Mausoleum with one or more of the labyrinths known in antiquity. The curving passages are simply a result of the concrete construction.

The outermost wall of the tomb was neatly surfaced in creamy white travertine except for the surface around the doorway, which was completed in Luna marble, still a relatively new material at the time (though the temples of Apollo Palatinus and Apollo Sosianus are built entirely of it).

Surviving concrete remains and stone architectural fragments indicate that the fourth annular ring of masonry from the exterior was considerably taller than those around it, rising above the mound of earth that Strabo mentions was probably heaped up inside and against it. Crowning the top of this drum were additional moldings of travertine and Luna marble. Since these materials echo the sheathing of the wall of the outermost drum, it seems likely that the marble blocks were centered on the south side of the structure, emphasizing the door, with travertine around the sides and back. Above the epistyle was a Doric triglyph and metope frieze, surmounted by a projecting cornice that supported a sima with lion-head waterspouts. The underside of the cornice was carved with mutules alternating with small coffers with floral bosses of several types (von Hesberg and Panciera 1994, 180 fig. 4; cf. figs. 38, 39).

It is possible to find in the Mausoleum several references to Octavian's accomplishments (Wiseman 1987). For instance, there are a couple of references to Egypt (aside from the pair of obelisks flanking the entrance). A surviving fragment of the projecting marble cornice preserves on the underside the Egyptian *corona atef* pattern between two coffers, while one of the coffers carries in relief a type of lotus flower, the *Nelumbo nucifera* (Bartoli 1927–28, fig. 14; Gros 1976, 305; Reeder 1992, 274). Undoubtedly these decorations are simply part of the prevailing "Egyptomania" of the day, but that too was partly a response to Octavian's success at Actium; on the Palatine, both the contemporary Aula Isiaca and Octavian's house contained similar Egyptianizing motifs (Coarelli 1980, 152 col. fig.; De Vos 1980, 60 n. 137, 74; 1991, 123 fig. 3; Ling 1991, 38–40 fig. 38).

From the exterior of the Mausoleum come fragments of marble blocks carved in relief with laurel branches and leaves, suggesting that the walls flanking the doorway were sculpted to represent a pair of laurel trees (cf. fig. 31). If so, they are petrified versions of the living laurel trees that Augustus had planted on either side of the door of his residence on the Palatine Hill early in 27, when he adopted the title of Augustus (Cassius Dio 53.16.4; A. Alföldi 1973). The symbolic importance attached to the plants is confirmed by their appearance on contemporary coins (Mattingly 1984, 58 nos. 317–20, 351–53).

In the same year (27) the Senate awarded the princeps a gold shield inscribed with his outstanding qualities, the *clipeus virtutis*, which was exhibited in the Curia Julia, and it allowed him to hang an oak wreath crown (*corona civica*) in the pediment of his house as a sign that he had saved the lives of citizens (*ob cives servandos*; Cass. Dio 53.16.4). The figure of a Victory holds the clipeus on one face of the Belvedere altar in the Vatican, and another copy of the shield was found at Arles (Weinstock 1971, 228–30, pl. 18). Another marble fragment found at the Mausoleum apparently copies this gold shield (von Hesberg and Panciera 1994, 183 fig. 15, pl. 5b); perhaps it too decorated the Mausoleum.

The exterior of the Mausoleum continued to be ornamented over the years with contemporary references; a series of marble elogia name the deceased members of the imperial family who were buried inside, recalling the elogia of the Forum Romanum and Forum of Augustus (Panciera 1991; Chioffi 1988, 1996). Both Lucius and Gaius Caesar, Augustus's adopted sons, were buried in the Mausoleum in 2 and 4 CE, respectively, the last burials before Augustus's own. A fragment of one surviving epistyle block carries part of the inscription to Gaius, who died at Limyra in Asia Minor, where a cenotaph was erected (Hofter et al. 1988, 249–50 no. 113, figs. 148, 149). Perhaps when the Mausoleum inscription was carved, the triglyph-metope frieze was also cut back for the addition of one or more marble shields, whose shape is visible even though the attachments have not survived. Both men were honored in 2/1 BCE by gold coins (*aurei*) that present them holding round shields as *principes iuventutis* (Beringer 1954; Hofter et al. 1988, 526 nos. 373–4). The Mausoleum shields follow a long tradition of including shields on tomb monuments to refer to the deceased's military success and heroization after death; similar shields are carved, for instance, on Hellenistic Macedonian and Numidian tombs (Markle 1999; cf. Torelli 1999b, 82, pl. 21).

In the case of the Mausoleum, the combination of architectural ornaments from a variety of sources, plus the eclectic elevation of the exterior, suggests that the architects of the project were still searching for a vocabulary adequate for the varied messages they wished to convey, but the overall impression of wealth and power is unmistakable (Zanker 1988, 76–77).

Grounded in Air: The Statue

At the highest point above the tomb stood a bronze statue of Augustus, perhaps gilded. No actual evidence of its form survives, and Strabo (5.3.8) simply refers to it as an image (*eikōn*). Because we have so little information about it, the exceptional nature of the statue has received relatively little attention. But as a funerary figure, the statue must have represented a remarkable innovation in a city where contemporary grave monuments tended to use life-sized or smaller statues and reliefs, mostly made of limestone or marble and set close to the viewer at ground level.

In Republican Rome, there were few examples as yet of statues raised in the air above the heads of spectators. The earliest of these were the *columna Minucia* (439) and

the *columna rostrata* with an image of Duilius commemorating his naval victory over Carthage in 260 (Pliny 34.20; Davies 2000, 7, n. 38). After the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36, another *columna rostrata* was erected in the Forum Romanum, supporting a heroic, seminude statue of Octavian (cf. Appian *B Civ.* 5.130; Stevenson 1998), an image that is represented on coins (Zanker 1988, 42 fig. 32b; cf. Mattingly 1984, 1:103, no. 633, pl. 15.5; Sutherland 1984, 1:59, no. 271, pl. 5; Pollini 1990, 348, fig. 15). The inspiration for such figures must be sought in the Hellenistic kingdoms of the east. An example is the pair of bronze statues of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe that surmounted honorific columns on the base dedicated by Admiral Kallikrates in front of the Echo Colonnade at Olympia (Hoepfner 1971, Beilage 21; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 77–78, fig. 5).

In order to be seen from ground level, however, the bronze statue atop the Mausoleum must have been truly colossal, and the massive size of the central concrete and travertine pier within the structure supports this notion. A standing figure less than 8–10 meters in height would have been dwarfed by the mass of the tumulus.

Colossal statues were rare in Rome at the beginning of the principate, except for those representing divinities (Kreikenbom 1992). The giant female head in the Capitoline from an acrolithic statue has been identified as belonging to a first-century cult statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei or Mens (Bertoletti et al. 1997, 74 fig. II.60, II.75). Only three colossal bronzes are known to have existed in Rome at this time, all apparently Hellenistic works. A colossal statue of Herakles by Lysippos was brought to Rome from Tarentum in 209 by Fabius Maximus (Pliny 34.40; Strabo 6.278; Pollitt 1986, 49); an internal device allowed the figure to move. This statue and a bronze from Apollonia in Pontus that was 15 meters tall (Pliny 34.39) were both erected on the Capitoline Hill. Finally, a similarly tall statue of Apollo with the features of Augustus was set up in the library attached to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (Pliny 34.43; cf. Servius *Ecl.* 4.10).

As for colossal stone statues of mortals, there were only a couple. A seminude representation of Pompey, 3 meters tall, stood in the curia of his theater complex (see chapter 2). And the statue of the deified Julius Caesar (in his temple in the Forum Romanum) was probably over-life-size: coins depict a togate-veiled statue holding an augural staff or *lituus* (Trillmich 1988, 501–2, no. 308). Otherwise, no living Roman had been represented at such a scale in any medium, except in the eastern Mediterranean.

Other colossal statues of Augustus were erected mostly after his death. One of stone was placed in the Hall of the Colossus next to the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, while a large seated statue was erected near the Theater of Marcellus in 22 CE (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.64; Zwierlein-Diehl 1980; Torelli 1982, 68, pl. II.14; Mattingly 1984, 1:130, nos. 74–75, pl. 23.17; Ripari 1993, 1995). A giant head in the Cortile della Pigna in the Vatican (fig. 7) is all that survives of another colossal stone figure, probably a composite with the draped areas added in another material (Menichetti 1986; Zanker 1988, 76, fig. 6). One other statue of Augustus that may have been colossal in scale was erected by Agrippa in the Pantheon; it must have been loricate, since a thunderbolt knocked the spear from Augustus's hand in 22 (Cassius Dio 53.27.3, 54.1.1).

Figure 7

Only at Alexandria do we have evidence for taller ruler portraits dominating a major approach to the city (Kyrieleis 1975). The continuing underwater excavations being conducted in the harbor by J.-Y. Empereur (1998) have recovered fragments of three pairs of Ptolemaic rulers in Egyptian style made of red granite, probably representing Ptolemy II with Arsinoe; with their bases, these figures once stood ca. 12 meters high and were grouped around the base of the famous lighthouse, where they would have been seen by all those entering or leaving the port. We might expect another colossal statue to have crowned the tomb of Alexander the Great, which also probably stood near the harbor. And at least one colossal representation of Augustus in granite has survived from Egypt; there may have been others (Strocka 1980).

The specific form of the bronze statue of Octavian atop his Mausoleum remains purely speculative. We can consider several possibilities, however. The heroic figure of Octavian in Greek style atop the columna rostrata, represented on coins, has already been mentioned. Other Augustan coins show another heroic, nearly nude princeps holding a ship's decorated sternpost (*aplustre*) in one hand and supporting a spear or staff in the other, its foot resting on a globe (Zanker 1988, 41 fig. 31a). On these coins, Octavian's pose mimics a well-known Hellenistic representation of Poseidon, apparently to commemorate his naval victory over Sextus Pompey in 36. Both coins suggest that such heroizing figures of Octavian in Hellenistic style were not only well known but were also considered appropriate public images of a contemporary Roman leader. Supporting the notion that such seminude figures were acceptable is a series of stone statues of second- and first-century date from Italy and the Greek east, along with a marble grave stela showing such a figure from a tomb on the Via Appia (D. Kleiner and F. Kleiner 1975). The statue of C. Ofellius Ferus from Delos (ca. 110) has a preserved height of 2.43 meters and a restored height of 2.80 (Pollitt 1986, 75, fig. 78; Barthe and Besnainou 1988; Queyrel 1991; Ridgway 2000, 242, n. 34).

Three other possibilities can also be considered. A togate figure, perhaps with veiled head, would appropriately render Octavian's commitment to traditional social values and religion, while J. Pollini has suggested instead that the commemorative statue represented Octavian in a quadriga, like the group thought to have surmounted the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (Richard 1970, 380; Pollini 1993, 285, fig. 86) and those that proliferated in Athens under the Attalids (Bouras 1990, 270). These include the pedestal "of Agrippa" in front of the Propylaia, another at the northeast corner of the Parthenon, and a third in the Agora in front of the Stoa of Attalos (Stamatiou 1989). In further support of this idea, a bronze chariot group was erected in the center of the Forum Augusti in 2, and a representation of Augustus in a triumphal chariot was one of the three figures actually used in his funeral procession in 14 CE. It seems unlikely, though, that Strabo would have referred to such a group simply as an *eikōn*.

Finally, J.-C. Richard has suggested (1970) that the statue crowning the tomb may have shown a triumphal Octavian as a cuirassed figure (*statua loricata*), perhaps recalling the pose and accoutrements of the marble statue of Augustus in the Pantheon,

which seems to have been armored, and, of course, the Primaporta Augustus (A. Alföldi 1937; E. Simon 1957b; 1986a, 53–57, col. pl. 1, figs. 54–59; Kähler 1959; Rebuffat 1961; Ingholt 1969; Jucker 1977; Pollini 1978, 8–74; 1987–88; Grieco 1979; Zanker 1988, 188–92, 190–91 fig. 148a, 148b; D. Kleiner 1992, 63–67, fig. 42; Reeder 1997; Klynne and Liljenstolpe 2000). Since the Primaporta figure is thought to echo a bronze prototype, and because the Mausoleum seems to have served in part as a victory monument, this suggestion is attractive.

The question of its exact form aside, the statue atop the Mausoleum must have been meant not only to impress the spectator as something new in terms of honorific statuary in the capital, but also to serve as a focusing device in a way that even the massive size and circular shape of the tomb alone could not. The crowning figure literally lifts the viewer's eye toward the heavens; on a sunny day, the glint of light off the metal must have made a spectacular sight. The placement of the statue so far from the viewer, however, emphasized not the communication of the living with the dead, as in a family monument beside a road, but rather the spectator's absolute separation from the princeps as his statue looked out over Rome from a great height—hardly an invitation to consider Octavian/Augustus as merely a Roman citizen (cf. Pliny 34.12: “The purpose of placing status of men on columns was to elevate them above all other mortals”).

Italic Origins

Although there are no exact parallels for the architectural form of the Mausoleum, a variety of influences has been suggested from other parts of the Mediterranean world. Since the Mausoleum dominated the road leading north from Rome into Etruria, and because of Augustus's well-documented antiquarian interests, the idea of inspiration from Etruscan tumuli at Caere (Cerveteri) and other sites has long been popular (Rasmussen 1995–96, 55–56; Davies 2000, 51–52). Recent excavation has shown that a native Italic tradition of tumulus burial existed in the peninsula even earlier than the Etruscans, during the Proto-Villanovan phase, and thus the practice of tumulus burial predates the period of sustained orientalizing influences that might have introduced the tumulus form from the east (Moser 1996; Naso 1996; Eckert 1998–99). As elite statements of power, such tumuli share obvious points in common with Augustus's Mausoleum.

In recent years, however, a number of scholars have pointed out that there are few intermediaries between the Etruscan tombs and the Mausoleum, making a direct line of evolution difficult to trace (Eisner 1979a; Reeder 1992, 266). This does not strike me as a particularly significant problem, however, given the fact that the necropoleis of Etruscan tombs were visible and visited at the beginning of the imperial period. By harking back to earlier models, Augustus may have been implying that his legitimacy as ruler was preordained (an idea suggested to me by R. Cohon), as did perhaps his choice of building site for his Palatine house, quite near the Hut of Romulus.

A more serious objection to an Etruscan origin for the Mausoleum is that the wall or curb encircling the base of Etruscan tombs is generally low, usually no more than 2 meters high. The surrounding wall of the Mausoleum, by contrast, was a tall drum faced with masonry rising to a height of approximately 12 meters, creating the appearance of a cylinder surmounted by the mound of earth. If the latest reconstruction of the superstructure of the Mausoleum by von Hesberg and Panciera (1994, fig. 49, reproduced in Davies 2000, 16 fig. 4) is even approximately correct, then it does not look much like an Etruscan tumulus, even when we imagine it planted with trees or shrubbery.

The excavation of the so-called “Heroön of Aeneas” at Lavinium (Pratica di Mare) in the early 1970s has added another dimension to the discussion (Sommella 1974; Galinsky 1974; Dury-Moyaers 1981; Giuliani 1981; *Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 175; Cogrossi 1982; Turcan 1983; M. Johnson 1996). There, a comparatively small tumulus (20 m in diameter) raised over a low retaining circle of stones, covered a seventh-century grave. In the fourth century, the tumulus was modified by the addition of a tufa pronaos and cella separated by a false door (like those painted in some Etruscan tombs) and converted into a heroön, with thirteen altars of archaic shape erected a short distance away. The tumulus resembles the description by Dionysios of Halicarnassus of the tomb of Aeneas, which he also says was surrounded by a grove of trees, thus recalling the setting of Augustus’s Mausoleum (1.64.5).

Since the 1950s, much of the discussion of the possible antecedents for the Mausoleum has focused on the date and architectural features of tombs in central Italy (particularly in the environs of Rome), which share its combination of a cylindrical drum and crowning mound of earth (Götze 1939; de Franciscis and Pane 1957; Fellmann and Gullini 1957). These tombs vary in size from a few meters in diameter to the grandiose Torrione di Micara at Tusculum, traditionally associated with L. Licinius Lucullus and thus probably not earlier than the Augustan period (*pace* Eisner 1979b). This monument has a diameter of 83 meters, almost the size of the Mausoleum, and a brick-faced interior.

Similarly, these tombs exhibit great variety in the height of the drum, from 1–2 meters up to almost 10. Several of them have an inner structure of concrete with a stone facing, an internal corridor, and a burial chamber like Octavian’s Mausoleum; a few even have a similar central pier, which may have supported a statue crowning the tomb. The Mausoleum’s annular corridor encircling the burial chamber is also found in the relatively small Tomb of the Servilii on the Via Appia, also of Augustan date (M. Johnson 1996, 227, fig. 9). Another tumulus tomb, in the Vigna Pepoli at Rome, has a diameter of 38 meters with an outer retaining wall 5.5 meters high (Johnson 1996, 225, fig. 8). The central burial chamber has an internal pier with five burial niches located in the encircling wall. The use of opus reticulatum masonry dates the construction of the tomb after ca. 55 and probably earlier than the Mausoleum.

The most famous of the drum-and-tumulus tombs in the vicinity of Rome is that of Caecilia Metella (figs. 8–9) on the Via Appia south of the city (Holloway 1966; Eisner

Figure 8, Figure 9

1986, 35–41 no. A5); its position, dominating a major road into the city, is analogous to that of the Mausoleum. Caecilia was the wife of M. Licinius Crassus, the quaestor of Julius Caesar, but the tomb was probably built in her honor by her son during the Augustan period, making it unlikely to have predated the Mausoleum; instead, it was probably influenced by it. The tomb preserves an inscription to its owner (*CIL* 6.1274: *Caeciliae Q. Cretici F. Metellae Crassi*); its exterior was decorated with a frieze carrying a repeating pattern of sacrificial objects including bucrania, garlands, and paterae, and small trophies that allude to the military achievements of members of her family. And, as on the Mausoleum, the low placement of the frieze makes it resemble a decorative band around the top of the drum.

Because these tombs have been the subject of several recent detailed studies and surveys, I do not need to recapitulate all the evidence on their construction here. Several scholars have generally favored Republican dates for some of these tombs, which would make them typological ancestors for the architectural developments embodied in the Mausoleum (e.g., the Casal Rotondo on the Via Appia, dated to 40–30, with a diameter of 29 m, retaining wall just under 9 m, and a travertine exterior: Eisner 1986, 61–62 no. A32; Johnson 1996, 224, fig. 6; Davies 2000, 6, fig. 1). Other tombs that possibly predate the Mausoleum include the so-called Tomb of the Curiatii on the Via Appia (Eisner 1986, 54–55 no. A23; Johnson 1996, 224–25, fig. 7) with a diameter of only 7 meters, and a present height of only 3 meters. Because the Via Appia curves around the structure, Eisner thought the tomb dated to the fourth century. Its most important feature is the central pier of the interior, like that inside the Mausoleum, although it is far smaller (only 3 m in diameter and 10 m high). Two tumulus tombs near the fifth milestone on the Via Appia are conventionally known as the Graves of the Horatii (Eisner 1986, 56–59, nos. A26, A27; Johnson 1996, 222, fig. 4). The northern tomb dates securely to 80–44 and has the beginnings of internal buttressing comparable to that of the Mausoleum. The southern tomb could date as early as the fifth century and has a low retaining wall and mound, but no burial chamber (the mound must have been erected after burial took place underneath).

Recently, however, the early dates for many of these monuments have been called into question, with a present tendency to date these tombs, including the Tomb of Caecilia Metella, contemporary with or later than the Mausoleum. For example, the Torrione on the Via Praenestina has a diameter of 41 meters and a retaining wall more than 9 meters high (Eisner 1986, 97–100 no. P1; M. Johnson 1996, 222, fig. 5). Within is a small cruciform burial chamber approached by a passage lined with masonry. A coin found during excavation dates the tomb's construction after 15. Slightly smaller is another circular tomb, that of M. Lucilius Paetus, located about a half kilometer outside the Via Salaria in Rome and dated to ca. 20 (Coarelli 1980, 226–27). The structure has a drum ca. 6 meters high with a concrete core faced with travertine blocks, and a diameter of ca. 34 meters. The drum has a simple cornice at its base and top, with a large marble plaque facing the Via Salaria and recording the fact that the tomb

was constructed while its owner, a military tribune and *praefectus fabrum*, was still alive. And the Tomb of the Plautii on the Via Tiburtina copies the Mausoleum by having inscribed plaques set between columns at the base, and another inserted into the upper part of the drum (Conti 1986).

Influences from Outside Italy

Monumental tumulus and circular tombs in the Greek world have also suggested a possible source of inspiration for the Mausoleum (Abramson 1978; Koenigs 1980; Malkin 1981; Leschhorn 1983; Alcock 1991; Müller 1993). The type has a long history beginning with the Lefkandi tomb on the island of Euboea, where excavations have uncovered a monumental building of early tenth-century date, which was pulled down after one generation and its debris heaped into a tumulus ca. 50 meters in diameter (Popham et al. 1990). Two shaft graves underneath the mound contained the cremated remains of a man (possibly a city founder [*oikistēs*]) and the inhumation burial of a woman, along with the bodies of four horses presumably from a chariot.

In the sixth century, a relatively small circular cenotaph, ca. 5 meters in diameter, was erected at Corfu to Menekrates by his brother Praximenes and the people of Corfu to honor his service to the island. The monument was surrounded by a low stone wall (1.2 m high) that carried an inscription; the statue of a lion found nearby may have been the crowning member (Crome 1961; Dörig 1961, 70; Koenigs 1980, 42, n. 140; Hansen 1983, 78; Müller 1993, 60, fig. 2; Fedak 1990, 62, fig. 53). A circular tomb-heroön was also erected for Battus in the second half of the seventh century at the east side of the agora at Cyrene to honor him as founder (Fedak 1990, 291, fig. 54; Gasperini 1997; cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 5). Another sixth-century monumental circular tomb, the so-called Rundbau, was erected in a prominent location within the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens, as a cenotaph or heroön (Fedak 1990, 62–63, fig. 56; Koenigs 1980, pls. 9–10). The tomb consists of a slightly tapering drum (diameter 8.4 m) that rose to a height of 5.5 meters. It had a Doric frieze (like Augustus's Mausoleum) and geison separated by a high Lesbian cyma, indicating that the structure mixed Aeolic and Ionic elements with the Doric order.

Greek art sometimes shows a slightly different form of tumulus tomb: a nearly hemispherical mound of earth without a retaining wall, often surmounted by a crowning finial. A black-figure hydria attributed to the Leagros Group in Berlin (F1902; Beazley 1956, 363.37) depicts Polyxena at the tumulus of Achilles (his armed spirit flies over the top); an unusual white-ground cup tondo by the Sotades Painter depicts Teiresias rejuvenating the deceased son of Minos against the backdrop of a similar tomb (London, BM D5; Beazley 1963, 763.2, 772). Recently, an Archaic sarcophagus has been unearthed in the Troad that depicts on one side the sacrifice of Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles; the monument is hemispherical but has a small crowning finial (Sevinç 1996). These examples make it clear that at least two types of circular tomb coexisted in Greece: the simple tumulus and the drum-shaped circular tomb surmounted by a mound. From the late fourth century onward, rectangular or barrel-vaulted tombs in

Macedon, their chambers masked by an architectural façade, were apparently meant to be buried under a tumulus soon after the funeral took place, the best known of these being the Great Tumulus at Vergina (Andronikos 1984; Hammond 1997).

Recently, Reeder (1992) has looked to cylindrical Greek buildings that did not function as tombs in order to find possible sources of inspiration for the general form of Augustus's Mausoleum. The fourth-century *tholoi* (Seiler 1986) are obvious examples: Epidauros (Ridgway 1997, 45–48), Delphi (Ridgway 1997, 42–45), and Olympia (Schleif 1944; Mallwitz 1972, 128–33). Reeder also draws attention to the Arsinoeion at Samothrace as a possible model (it was “the largest enclosed, domed, and non-peripteral round building in the ancient world before Hadrian's Pantheon,” 282). With a diameter of ca. 17 meters, however, the drum of the Arsinoeion was far smaller than that of the Mausoleum.

These international sanctuaries served as influential points for the dissemination of architectural styles and building types. Nevertheless, there are serious objections to some of these proposed parallels. The tholoi at Epidauros and Delphi had colonnades articulating their exteriors, fully defined interior spaces (not just internal corridors and a central chamber), and tiled roofs rather than a mound of earth, as did the Arsinoeion as well (cf. Davies 2000, 56). Moreover, their function was different, more religious than funerary.

A better comparison, not cited by Reeder, is the Hellenistic round tomb with a tumulus on top constructed at Pergamon alongside the road leading to the Asklepieion (Ziegenaus and De Luca 1975). Though the internal dromos and double chamber are relatively small, the space between them and the outer drum was filled with earth, which rises into a peak, perhaps to support a statue of the deceased.

In North Africa there are two types of Numidian tombs of Hellenistic date (tumulus and tower-shaped), which have been surveyed recently by F. Coarelli and Y. Thébert (1988, 786–800), who feel that these represent a kind of corridor of transmission of architectural and sculptural styles from Alexandria to Rome (798; cf. Di Vita 1968, 1976, 1978; Horn and Rüger 1979; Reeder 1992, 275). The colossal second-century tumulus at Medracen, Algeria, consisted of a large drum with engaged Doric columns, surmounted by a tumulus, both parts entirely of cut stone; the altar in front of the building may indicate a cult of the deceased (Rakob 1983, 330, fig. 1; Camps 1973; Davies 2000, 54, fig. 42).

Numidian tower tombs of the second and first centuries, by contrast, are quite different in form and much more decorative, even baroque, in terms of their architectural and sculptural embellishment. While many of these structures are square or rectangular at the base, they may rise in several highly articulated stories to a pointed or pyramidal roof. One famous example, Mausoleum B at Sabratha, is three-sided at the base with engaged Egyptianizing statues and elaborate moldings that far more suggest pharaonic influences than do the decorative elements on the Mausoleum of Augustus (Di Vita 1976).

Eastern influences on the Mausoleum were surely stronger than scholars have acknowledged recently (e.g., M. Johnson 1996). R. Holloway (1966) has pointed to the prehistoric and Iron Age tumulus tombs on the plain of Troy as a possible source of inspiration, at least culturally if not architecturally (cf. Apollonios of Tyana p. 68 Kayser on the mounded tomb of Achilles at Troy). As the setting for funeral games in the *Iliad*, these tumuli functioned thereafter as loci of a heroic age; at Rome, for instance, the Troy Game (*lusus Troiae*) was performed at Roman funerals, at the dedication of some buildings (Schneider 1927; Mehl 1956; Weber 1974; cf. Vergil *Aen.* 3.22, 3.304, 6.232; Homer *Il.* 2.792–94, 811–15; 7.86–91), and when Augustus’s adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, were designated *principes iuventutis* (Vollenweider 1963–64).

The sheer size of Octavian’s Mausoleum, however, puts it on par with larger and later royal tombs, although it is not quite comparable to the so-called Midas mound at Gordion in Anatolia (second half of the eighth century) with a diameter of 250 meters, almost three times as large as the Mausoleum (Young 1981).

The tomb on Mount Nemrud (elevation 2,150 m) in northern Syria of Antiochus I of Commagene (ruled 69–34; Sullivan 1977) combined burial chamber and funerary chapel in a highly innovative fashion (Pollitt 1986, 274–75; Dörner 1987; Goell and Bachmann 1996; Jacobs 1998). Its main feature was a tumulus ca. 140 meters in diameter and 50 in height (twice as large as the Mausoleum), with terraces on three sides (fig. 10). The north terrace was devoted to the cult of the deceased king. The east and west terraces were used for sculptural displays, including carved orthostats along the sides and an array of colossal statues on the main axes. These stood nearly 10 meters high and included various gods, Hercules, the Tyche of Commagene (with a cornucopia and plant motifs), and Antiochus himself (“a friend to the Romans and to the Greeks”). One relief depicts the horoscope of the king, to which we will return in chapter 4, while others refer to the king’s ancestors, along with protective animals like the lion and eagle.

Although no ancient source states that Augustus saw the tomb, he wintered in Asia and Syria during 30/29 (Cassius Dio 51.4.1–2, 5.2, 18.1–2). Antiochus I had been closely linked with the Romans, initially as an ally of Pompey and later deposed by Antony (Cassius Dio 52.43.1); Augustus subsequently favored his wife and son, and it may be that they are represented on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis (Kuttner 1995, 95, 104; and see chapter 5 below), but he also executed a successor, Antiochus II, in 29. We can safely assume, therefore, that Rome’s princeps at least had heard of this recently constructed, unusual tomb, even if he never saw it.

The tombs of other dynasts in the east are neither circular nor mounded, but in other ways they suggest sources of inspiration for Octavian’s Mausoleum. The tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae was relatively small and shaped like a house or tent on a stepped base (11 m tall, 12 × 13 at the base), but it stood in a park as the Mausoleum did (Stronach 1978, 24–26, pls. 19–39). Twice during his travels through Asia, Alexander stopped at the tomb and venerated the body of Cyrus, just as Octavian venerated Alexander’s body at his tomb in Egypt.

Figure 10

The most famous example is, of course, the mid-fourth-century Mausoleum of Halikarnassos on the coast of Turkey (fig. 11), whose complex also included provision for the cremation of Mausolos's body (Adler 1900; Waywell 1978; Hornblower 1982; Colvin 1991, fig. 31; Pedersen 1991, 1996; Jeppesen 1992, 2002; Hoepfner 1996; Jenkins and Waywell 1997; Ridgway 1997, 111–35; Rolley 1999, 307–16; Davies 2000, 52–53, fig. 41).

Figure 11

The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos is just one in a series of podium tombs in Lycia. The Nereid Monument (ca. 400; Ridgway 1997, 79–88, ill. 10–11, pls. 12–19) consists of a high rectangular base, above which is the tomb, shaped like an Ionic temple with a peristyle of 4×6 columns, several friezes, pedimental and acroterial sculptures, and freestanding Nereids placed in the intercolumniations. The mausoleum of the local dynast Perikles at Limyra (generally dated ca. 370 but perhaps somewhat later) also consists of a high rectangular podium surmounted by an amphiprostyle cella with friezes, sculptural acroteria, and caryatids in place of columns (Ridgway 1997, 94–99, ill. 14). The Belevi Mausoleum, located outside Ephesus, may date as early as the fourth century, but Antiochus III was probably buried in it in 246 (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut 1979; Pollitt 1986, 284–90, fig. 300; Ridgway 1990, 187–96; Hoepfner 1993; Webb 1996, 76–78). The tomb consists of a large podium (15×24 m; height 11 m) crowned by a Doric frieze and surmounted by a chamber surrounded by a Corinthian colonnade supporting a pyramidal roof and chariot group. Sculpted coffers on the interior of the colonnade and antithetic lion-griffins flanking urns along the edges of the roof contribute to the impression that the tomb decoration represents a grab bag of oriental and Greek motifs.

One other structure should be mentioned in this context: the so-called Ptolemaion erected at Limyra in southern Lycia in the third century (Walbank 1987; Borchhardt et al. 1990, 182–83, no. 106, fig.; Borchhardt 1991; 1993, 79–83; Stanzl 1999). Although apparently a heroön, not a tomb, it consists of a cubical base nearly 15 meters on a side by 11 high, with a Doric frieze and sculpted metopes; above is a tholos with an external Ionic colonnade, and a two-tiered conical roof surmounted by a colossal Corinthian capital that may have supported statuary. Four guardian lions stand at the upper corners of the base, and the wall of the tholos carried a frieze carved with racing chariots. Fragments of over life-sized statues, perhaps royal portraits, have also been discovered, though their relation to the architecture is unclear. The quality of construction of the Ptolemaion suggests direct influence from Alexandria, while its location near the center of the city recalls the situation of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos.

Although the late Classical and Hellenistic funerary monuments of southwest Asia Minor tend to be rectangular or square in plan with tall bases, and have some form of colonnade above and figural sculptural embellishment in relief or in the round, all traits that make them different from the Mausoleum of Octavian, they nonetheless may have influenced other Augustan funerary monuments, like the Tomb of the Julii at S. Rémy in southern France (Rolland 1969; D. Kleiner 1992, 112–13, fig. 99), the Mausoleum of Gaius Caesar at Limyra (Cassius Dio 55.12.1; Borchhardt 1974; Ganzert

1984; Gates 1994, 264–65, fig. 10), and the Augustan victory monument at La Turbie (ca. 7–6; Picard 1949; Davies 2000, 64–65, fig. 51; Erskine 2002).

Alexander: The Sema and Semiology of Ruler Cult

The most problematic, but perhaps the most influential, monumental tomb in the ancient world was the Sema (or Soma) at Alexandria that housed the body of Alexander the Great (Pausanias 1.6.3; Quintus Curtius 10.10.20; Fraser 1972, 14–17, 36, 123, 225–26; Fiaccadori 1992; Erskine 1995). Although Davies has recently reviewed the evidence for the tomb (2000, 52–60), I arrive at different conclusions. After Alexander died at Babylon in 323, his body was mummified for transport to the ancestral tombs at Aigai in Macedon (Diodorus Siculus 18.26.3; Quintus Curtius 10.10.13), but on the way, Ptolemy I diverted the sumptuous funerary carriage to Memphis. In Egypt, the mummified body may have been interred initially in the sarcophagus of Nectanebo I and housed nearby in the Serapeion at Sakkara (Chugg 2002). Eventually Alexander's body—apparently still in the reused sarcophagus—was removed to his eponymous city of Alexandria in Egypt, but it was not until the reign of Ptolemy IV (222–205; or Ptolemy II: Pausanias 1.7.1) that a final tomb was built, along with resting places (pyramids and mausolea in porphyry) for the first three Ptolemies nearby (Zenobius 3.94; Thiersch 1910). Once at Alexandria, the body may have been placed in a coffin of gold, later replaced by one of translucent alabaster or glass.

We know from Strabo and other sources that the Sema was located inside the boundaries of the city, on or below part of the grounds that made up the gardens of the royal palace facing the harbor, but its exact form is unknown (Strabo 17.1.8; Lucan 8.694, 10.19–22).

Although it is now impossible to say if the Sema was architecturally the ancestor to Augustus's Mausoleum, we can make a few educated guesses as to its form. Since tomb architecture tends to be conservative, Alexander's monument may have resembled either the Hellenistic royal tombs in Macedon (stone chambers below tumuli) or something more public, like the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos; it is unlikely to have borrowed native Egyptian tomb forms wholesale. We can narrow our choices further: since the tomb was set on the grounds of the royal palace near the harbor, it was probably designed to be visible both from the sea and from within the city, and thus a relatively tall and imposing building (Strabo 17.1.8–10; Bernhard 1956). It is tempting to imagine a structure along the lines of the Ptolemaion at Limyra, mentioned above, which predates Alexander's tomb by perhaps only one or two generations. Finally, Octavian seems deliberately to have used Alexander as a model in other respects (*imitatio Alexandri*; Treves 1953; Cresci Marrone 1980; Bohm 1989; cf. Michel 1967). Why not his tomb as well (cf. Richard 1970; Reeder 1992)?

From the accounts by Suetonius and Cassius Dio of Octavian's visit to Alexander's tomb, we can glean a few additional topographical clues. When Octavian visited the tomb, "he had the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great brought forth from

its shrine, and after gazing on it showed his respect by placing upon it a golden crown and strewing it with flowers” (Suetonius *Aug.* 18.1); he even touched the body, for the tip of Alexander’s nose is said to have broken off (Cassius Dio 51.16.5). Suetonius’s account suggests that the Sema was not a structure that could be entered with ease. Since Octavian had conquered Egypt at the age of thirty-three, approximately the same age as Alexander at his death, his visit to the Sema must have been especially poignant and memorable, all the more so because Alexander himself had venerated the body of his hero, Cyrus the Great, in similar fashion by laying a gold crown on the body and draping his mantle over it. Caesar, by contrast, had cried because at that age he had accomplished so little; and he too visited the tomb of Alexander and viewed the body. And there were those who compared Pompey at his third triumph to Alexander, although Pompey was then 46 (cf. Plutarch *Pomp.* 46.1; Lucan 10.19, 21–22). Alexander was thus both a lodestone and a yardstick for measuring personal achievement (Michel 1967; Weippert 1972).

The Ptolemies must have been buried in or near the Sema, for when Octavian viewed Alexander’s body, he was asked if he also wanted to see them, to which he replied that he had come “to see a king, not corpses” (Suetonius *Aug.* 18.1–2). To Octavian, Alexander’s tomb had a special political and symbolic power that caused him to spare the city—in a speech he delivered in Greek—since Alexander had been its founder (Cassius Dio 51.16.4). What little we know or conjecture about the tomb—its imposing size, its apparent visibility, its location within gardens, and the contrasting small size and general inaccessibility of its interior chamber—shares similarities with Augustus’s Mausoleum. The important point, however, is that the tombs of Alexander and Augustus resembled each other politically and symbolically, regardless of their physical similarities.

One other tomb at Alexandria should also be mentioned for the symbolic role it played—the mausoleum of Antony and Cleopatra. When Octavian entered Alexandria in 30, the queen barricaded herself in her tomb, which she is supposed to have filled with the wealth she had looted from temples. These treasures she threatened to burn as a last resort, according to Roman sources (Cassius Dio 51.8.6). Using the tomb as a stage for her meeting with Octavian, Cleopatra played her final role, reportedly attempting to employ the techniques of sexual seduction that had worked so well on Caesar and then on Antony (Cassius Dio 51.15.1; Skeat 1953). Octavian resisted the temptation, but the stories underscore the notion that her tomb served as a dramatic setting and “battlefield” for the final phase of conflict between west and east, and thus support the notion that Octavian’s tomb in Rome would have made a related statement directed at his opponents.

Although Antony and Cleopatra escaped through suicide, Octavian had the final word. Suetonius tells us that the two were granted the honor of burial in the tomb (*tumulum*) that they had begun building together and that Octavian completed after their deaths (*Aug.* 17.4; Cassius Dio 51.15.1). Although joint burial may indeed have

been requested by the lovers, Octavian surely insisted on it in order to permanently contrast Antony's defection to the east with and his own loyalty to Rome.

Gods in Motion: Moving the Obelisks

Figure 12

Another reminder of Rome's cultural superiority over Egypt lay in the pair of red granite obelisks erected on either side of the entrance to Octavian's Mausoleum (fig. 12). Although fallen and gradually covered over by the rising street levels during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, both obelisks were rediscovered in the early sixteenth century: Sixtus V set one up behind S. Maria Maggiore in 1587, and Pius VI added the other to a statuary group that Sixtus V had set up in the Piazza del Quirinale (Ashby 1919, 188; Iverson 1968, 47–54, 115–27; Nash 1968, 2:155–57, figs.; Rouillet 1972, 78 nos. 81–82; D'Onofrio 1992, 89–94, 235–41, 341–52; L. Richardson 1992, 275, fig. 55; Collins 1998; Davies 2000, 15, figs. 6, 7).

The nearly vertical, uninscribed faces of the Mausoleum obelisks suggest that they are not of pharaonic manufacture, but were quarried at Aswan in early imperial times. Both lack the crowning pyramidion that is a distinctive feature of pharaonic obelisks. Because the obelisks at the Mausoleum are not attributed to Augustus but to "subsequent generations" by Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.12, 16; cf. Boschung 1980, 39), scholars have generally assumed that their erection came later, perhaps in the Flavian period, when other work was undertaken in this part of the Campus Martius. Recently, however, E. Buchner (1996a) has re-excavated the area in front of the Mausoleum and has argued convincingly, both from archaeological evidence and from a drawing of a painting once in the Domus Aurea (Ashby 1914, 1–62, esp. 29, pl. 131), that the obelisks were actually set up during the Augustan period, at the edge of a canal leading from the Tiber to the tomb.

Figure 13

The pair of Augustan obelisks at the entrance to the Mausoleum (fig. 13) repeats an arrangement that was standard at Egyptian temples during the New Kingdom, when twin obelisks were often set up in front of the pylons that flanked the entrances to major sanctuaries so that the morning sun would appear to rise between them (Bell 1997, 132). Because so many obelisks have been removed from their original locations at Karnak, Luxor, and Heliopolis, it is now difficult for us to envision how these pairs worked at surviving temples in Egypt. A small votive model of Seti I, however, perhaps once dedicated at Heliopolis and now restored in the Brooklyn Museum, allows us to imagine (on a small scale) how such a pair might have looked in front of a temple (Badawy and Riefstahl 1972).

More importantly, in 13/12 Augustus had another pair of obelisks moved from Heliopolis, the ancient center of sun worship near Cairo, to the Caesareum, a temple of the imperial cult in Alexandria (Pliny 36.71). The chronology and identification of the Caesareum has often been debated, but it seems to be the same structure as the Kaisareion or Augusteum/Sebasteion mentioned by ancient sources (Fraser 1972, 24–25; Fishwick 1984, 1987; Ruggendorfer 1996; Pfrommer 1999, 135 fig. 184). Soon after

his arrival in Egypt in 48, Julius Caesar began constructing the complex, probably based on Hellenistic architectural models like the quadrangular Ptolemaic stoas at Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein; Wace 1959) and Cyrene (Gasparini 1970; Luni 1987a, 1987b; Boncasa 2000, 91–96). The Caesareum probably consisted of an open rectangular area surrounded by colonnades (ca. 84×95 m), perhaps with a freestanding temple on its main axis—an arrangement that may have influenced the development of the imperial fora at Rome and structures like the Saepta in the Campus Martius (Sjöquist 1954). We can imagine the obelisks at Alexandria standing either outside the entrance to the enclosure or directly in front of the temple. If so, their arrangement there may have influenced the arrangement of obelisks in front of the Mausoleum, and it then becomes tempting to imagine that the Mausoleum obelisks were moved to Rome when the Caesareum obelisks were being installed.

Though the Alexandria complex was only partially excavated, the pair of obelisks remained in position until the late nineteenth century, one standing and the other fallen. In the 1870s, the Egyptian government presented the former to the United States and the latter to Great Britain: these monuments, commonly known as “Cleopatra’s Needles,” now stand in Central Park, New York, and on the Thames embankment in London (Gorringe 1885; D’Alton 1993). The ancient practice of moving obelisks for political purposes has obviously continued almost to our own day.

The Function of Monumentality

In all the discussions of the Mausoleum and its meaning, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the symbolic aspects of its monumentality. Whether one accepts a pre- or post-Actium date for its construction, the project evidently was well underway, and perhaps nearly complete, before the so-called First Augustan Settlement in January of 27, when Octavian performed the carefully orchestrated show of returning control of the state to the Senate and people of Rome, only to let himself be voted a series of special powers along with the title Augustus (Cassius Dio 53.3–22). Thus the Mausoleum belongs to the period when the young warlord Octavian was blatantly in control of the Roman world, what E. Kornemann (1938, 81–85) has called his “Romulean” phase, for Octavian had proposed that he be called Romulus as second founder of the city (Suetonius *Aug.* 7.2; cf. Cassius Dio 53.16.7).

In an influential article on the symbolic value of monumental architecture, B. Trigger has noted that “its principal defining feature is that its scale and elaboration exceed the requirements of any practical functions that the building is intended to perform.” Typically, such “thermodynamic” projects (involving the expenditure of vast amounts of human energy) have tended to appear in human societies when “rulers . . . attempted to shift or reinforce the ideological basis of their power” (Trigger 1990, 124, 128). These buildings are also concrete symbols of the ability of a centralizing authority to marshal manpower, resources, and artistic and engineering skill, and they imply a high level of political and social organization.

Rulers in many cultures have chosen to erect such monumental tombs. The size and location of Old Kingdom Egyptian pyramids are an obvious example. The Atreus tholos at Mycenae (fourteenth century) is another, where the materials and architectural forms employed prepare the spectator in advance for the Lion Gate of the citadel proper (French 1989).

The Mausoleum securely fits the “thermodynamic” model: a grand scale and the marshaling of a huge workforce of engineers, stonemasons, and transporters. Some of these craftsmen and laborers may have been members of the army, who after 31 were no longer needed for active military duty: Octavian began demobilizing immediately after Actium (Cassius Dio 51.3). But regardless of where they came from, the workers on the Mausoleum needed to be fed, housed, and paid for their efforts. As a result, it is possible to view the monument as one of the primary expressions of a new centralizing authority under Octavian.

In these terms, it is difficult to read the Mausoleum as anything other than an authoritarian statement. The size of the building and its subsequent history make it clear that, regardless of its architectural origin, the Mausoleum was a dynastic tomb, and that Octavian meant to portray himself as a new founder along the lines of Alexander and to create an ancestral tomb for his successors, with himself—not Julius Caesar—as the ancestor. Thus the Mausoleum decisively breaks with the Republican past even as it seems to invoke it. These were bold statements for the young Octavian to make, all the more so because in 28 Octavian’s daughter, Julia, was only about eleven years old; as yet he had no son, although it may be that he had adopted Marcellus about this time. The building also suggests a high degree of confidence, perhaps even hubris: regardless of any achievements still to come, Octavian was declaring architecturally that he had already surpassed any other Roman, living or dead. His tomb would become his epitome, summarizing his achievement long after he was gone.

A Voice from Beyond the Grave—The Res Gestae

Figure 14

Following the death of the princeps in 14 CE, a meticulously tailored autobiographical record of his accomplishments, the *Res Gestae* (cf. fig. 14), was inscribed in bronze and set up in front of the Mausoleum; it was widely read (Suetonius *Aug.* 43 quotes from it; for general studies since 1990, see Rogers et al. 1990; Nicolet 1988, ch. 1; G. Alföldi 1991; André 1993; Le Glay 1993, 115–22; B. Simon 1993; Elsner 1996; Bosworth 1999).

Augustus seems to have completed the basic draft of the *Res Gestae* by 2, the year in which he accepted the title *pater patriae*, but he kept it up to date at least as late as 13 CE, the year before he died. He first read it to the Senate; and Tiberius may have used parts of it in his funeral oration. Only then was it set up, in the reign of Tiberius, as an inscription; that is, Augustus’s heirs accepted his evaluation of himself. Copies were soon made and set up far and wide (Guven 1998): marble tablets in front of the Tomb of the Plautii near Tivoli, perhaps under the influence of Augustus’s Mausoleum (L. Richardson 1992, 248); Latin and Greek versions on the marble walls of the Temple

of Roma and Augustus at Ankara (fig. 14; Hänlein 1981; Fittschen 1985; Tuchelt and Preiss-hofen 1985); at Apollonia in Anatolia on the front of a long and tall statue base for the figures of Germanicus, Drusus, Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius (C. Rose 1997, 169–70, no. 107); and on a wall at Pisidian Antioch that separated the Forum of Augustus from the Forum of Tiberius. The Anatolian copies are different from the others; they preserve the heading (“The achievements of the divine Augustus by which he brought the world under the sway of the Roman people”), which, at Ankara, appear in large letters (fig. 14).

Also according to the surviving heading, Augustus intended to have the document at his tomb engraved on two bronze piers (*pilis*; Suetonius gives *tabulis*, *Aug.* 101.3; in Greek, *stēlai*). These piers have not survived, but the records of the Secular Games were to be recorded in bronze and on marble, fragments of which have survived, and contemporary coins depict them as similar piers (Moretti 1982–84; Mattingly 1984, 1: no. 89; Hoffer et al. 1988, no. 356; Beard et al. 1998, no. 5.7). Surviving copies of other official bronze documents help round out our picture (e.g., the Tabula Siarensis [González 1984] and the senatus consultum against Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 20 CE [Eck et al. 1996], both found in Spain). E. Buchner (1996a) has made the attractive suggestion that the text at the Mausoleum was attached to the bases of the obelisks in front of the tomb.

The use of bronze for the official version of the *Res Gestae*, whether piers or tablets, has profound implications for the words contained on them. C. Williamson, in a study of bronze documents (she does not, however, mention the *Res Gestae*), has drawn attention to the way these differ from inscriptions on marble; she summarizes: “bronze tablets were a grandiloquent statement, symbolizing imperial rule and the majesty of law” (1987, 183; cf. Pliny 34.99: “the use of bronze is to guarantee the perpetuity of the monument”). Romans tended to use metal rather than stone for certain types of writing: legal documents, treaties, military diplomata, honorific inscriptions, statutes (*acta*)—in other words, authoritative documents. As publications, such metal documents were often set up in the most public spaces (the Capitoline Hill had thousands). Not only does the medium make Augustus’s words official, but they also involve the reader as a witness in almost a legal sense. Compare Horace, who claims that his poetry was even more durable than bronze (*Carm.* 3.30.1–5):

I have erected a monument more lasting than bronze,
higher than the regal place of the pyramids,
which neither a devouring downpour nor a violent north wind
can destroy, or the succession of countless years
or the swift passing of the seasons.

In another study, G. Alföldi has also helped contextualize the document at the Mausoleum by outlining a changing attitude toward official inscribed documents in the early imperial period—what he has termed the development of an “epigraphische Kultur” (1990, 332). He notes that during the time of Augustus there is a great increase in the

number and length of monumental inscriptions, which include not only documents in bronze but also those of gilded bronze that were attached to buildings and monuments.

It has long been recognized that the *Res Gestae* is a complex document capable of conveying meaning on several different levels; it is also the one long surviving piece of prose whose authorship we can attribute to Augustus himself, and the longest public inscription of the period. As an autobiographical statement, therefore, it is not only unique but also invaluable. Unlike most Roman building inscriptions, which are terse and highly abbreviated, with common terms presented as abbreviations and ligatures, the *Res Gestae* reads like a speech: it has good speaking cadences, and even the numbers it cites are written out in full, as if composed for oral delivery.

The *Res Gestae* has been interpreted by modern scholars from a number of different perspectives: as sober history, a tissue of lies and omissions, a personal boast, political propaganda, a geographic statement, and—most recently—as a formula for apotheosis that combines the themes of victory and beneficence (euergetism; see, e.g., Bosworth 1999, reviving an idea expressed by von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1886). All acknowledge, however, that the document is directed almost exclusively to the Roman people and the city of Rome, and that Augustus refashioned much of his material, deliberately omitting details that might detract from his achievements. One important section lists the state structures that he built or repaired in the city of Rome; he does not mention, therefore, his Mausoleum, the Ustrinum, or the Horologium-Solarium, evidently because they were private projects. By listing various buildings in all parts of the city, Augustus's architectural catalogue provides a sort of "cognitive map" for his new imperial city (Elsner 1996, though he does not use the term). The geographic listing of provinces and peoples whom Augustus subjugated and pacified extends this cognitive map to include the empire as a whole (Nicolet 1988), with Augustus himself clearly at the center.

The creation of the *Res Gestae* can be considered an outgrowth of four traditions: the Roman tradition of aristocratic funeral speeches, recorded by Polybius in the second century (6.53–54), the Greek tradition of orations at public funerals (like the one by Perikles; Thucydides 2.34–45), a continuing Hellenistic tradition that descends from the mythographer Euhemerus, and a tradition of honorific inscriptions.

According to Polybius, the funerary oration offered by a surviving member of the family not only listed the deeds and accomplishments of the deceased, but also drew the audience into the process of mourning for the individual. This issue of the intended audience raises a question: to whom were the *Res Gestae* directed? Z. Yavetz has suggested that Augustus's statement was aimed primarily at the educated Italian youth of the time, and not the uneducated masses (1984, 19), but A. Wallace-Hadrill instead sees the message as one that goes beyond the needs of the city-state and is designed for consumption by the entire empire (1985, 249).

The *Res Gestae* did not constitute the earliest autobiographical work by Augustus. We know from ancient sources that relatively early in his career he undertook an "autobiography" in thirteen books, dedicated to Maecenas and Agrippa; it has survived only

in fragments or quotations (Malcovati 1948; Hahn 1957, 1958–60; Yavetz 1984). This work, abandoned by 23, apparently included a defense against derogatory remarks about the humble origins of his family, a justification of his behavior toward his enemies and friends, and an account of how his talents had been recognized from his childhood. Augustus also composed some of the *elogiae* for the statues of noble Romans displayed in the colonnades of the Forum Augusti in order to claim all great Romans of the past as his ancestors and extended family (Sage 1979; Frisch 1980; Chioffi 1996 and review by Simpson 1998b). And after the premature death of his stepson Drusus Major in 9, the princeps composed a history of the young man's life (Suetonius *Claud.* 15; Panciera 1991, 135–36).

Neither the idea of setting up an inscription at the tomb nor the creation of *res gestae* was new to Augustus; there were precedents. An inscription on the tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae boasted, “O Man, I am Cyrus, who founded the empire of the Persians and was king of Asia. Do not begrudge me this monument” (Aristoboulos in Jacoby 1954–57, 139 F51; Arrian *Anab.* 6.298; Strabo 15.3.7). Sulla's tomb at Rome was embellished with an epitaph that he composed himself; the text has not survived. Certainly by the second century, if not earlier, the records of individuals were being couched in grandiose, even cosmic, terms; Ennius's epigram to commemorate Scipio Africanus is the earliest to survive (Warmington 1988, 400–401, Epitaph 1–2):

From the rising of the sun beyond the swamps of Maeotis,
 there is no one who can match my deeds.
 If it is right for anyone to climb the heights of heaven,
 to me alone is open heaven's great gate.

But it was the *res gestae* of Pompey, dedicated at the temple of Minerva in 61, the year of his third triumph, that forms the clearest Roman precedent for Augustus's statement at the Mausoleum (Vogel-Weidemann 1983):

Pompey the Great, son of Gnaeus, Imperator—having liberated by war the seacoast of the inhabited world (*oikouménē gē*) and all islands of Ocean from pirates; lifted the siege of the kingdom of Ariobarzanes; conquered Galatia and its outlying lands and provinces, Asia, and Bithynia; brought under our protection Paphlagonia and Pontus, Armenia and Achaia, as well as Iberia, Colchis, Mesopotamia, Sophene, and Gordyene; subjected Darius king of the Medes, Artoles king of the Iberians, Aristobulus king of the Jews, Aretas king of the Nabatean Arabs, Syria near Cilicia, Judea, Arabia, the province of Cyrene, the Achaeans, the Iozysi, the Soani, the Heniochi, and the other tribes along the coast between Colchis and lake Maeotis, with their kings, nine in number, and all the nations that dwell between the Pontic and the Red seas; extended the boundaries of the empire to the boundaries of the earth; secured the revenues of the Roman people, which he also increased; and seized the statues and the other dedications to gods, as well as other

valuables taken from the enemy—has dedicated to the goddess 1,260 talents of gold and 307 of silver. (Diodorus Siculus 40.3.8; cf. Pliny 7.97–98)

Even earlier, Pompey had set up a trophy in the Pyrenees with his statue on top, and an inscription boasting that he had conquered 876 cities (Sallust *Hist.* 3.89 M; Pliny 3.18, 7.96, 37.15). In 7 Augustus imitated this monument in La Turbie, France, naming the Alpine tribes brought under the dominion of the Roman people (Pliny 3.136; Lamboglia 1976; Drack and Fellmann 1988, 24, 29).

Other individuals erected their own *res gestae* at great risk to themselves. One of the crimes imputed to Cornelius Gallus, friend of Augustus and the first prefect of Egypt, was that he inscribed on the pyramids a list of his achievements (Cassius Dio 53.23.5–6). Augustus formally repudiated their friendship, and Gallus eventually committed suicide.

B. Bosworth has suggested (1999, 10–11, ns. 65, 69) a Greek influence on the *Res Gestae* as well. The early Hellenistic mythographer Euhemerus (ca. 300) imagined the land of Panachaia near the Persian Gulf. A temple established there to Zeus “while he was king of the inhabited world [*oikouménē*],” had a gold stela inscribed with the deeds of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus. Euhemerus’s column also had a *titulus* at the top, like the prescript of the *Res Gestae* (Lactantius 1.11.33 = Jacoby 1954–57, 63 T3; cf. Diodorus Siculus 6.1.7 = Jacoby 1954–57, 63 F2). Although there is a tendency in modern scholarship to denigrate Euhemerus’s fancies, he was widely read by Roman authors. In his encomium on Scipio, the poet Ennius seems both to recall Euhemerus and to foreshadow Augustus’s combination of *Res Gestae* and statue at his tomb: “How large a statue will the Roman people make, / how large a column to tell of your deeds?” (Warmington 1988, 398–99, Epigram 10–11). However we choose to interpret the *Res Gestae*, there can be no clearer document linking imperium and cosmos than its opening line in dactylic hexameters, which imbues it with an epic flavor:

rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem
terrarum imperio populi romani subiecit.

The deeds accomplished by the divine Augustus, by which
he yoked the world to the power of the Roman people.

STAGING DEATH: THE FUNERAL AS PARADIGM FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORDER

Augustus’s funerary monuments also incorporated important social messages. As structures, the Ustrinum and Mausoleum can be considered termini for major stages of the long funerary process that began with the tending of the corpse, the delivery of one or more eulogies, the funerary procession and the cremation ceremony, and then

the procession to the tomb and deposition of the ashes (Toynbee 1971). In religious and social terms, the site of cremation was nearly as important as the tomb: here, the survivors bade farewell to the recognizable human form of the deceased, and watched as the corpse was transformed to ashes and bone, to be ceremoniously collected and deposited in the tomb. With the visual exhibition of the burning of the body, the community could complete the final stages of mourning and begin to accept the fact of his death. At the same time, the funerary procession (*pompa*) forms a parallel in reverse for the triumphal procession (*pompa triumphalis*) of the successful general (Richard 1966b; Frascchetti 1984; Arce 1988).

The Mausoleum and Ustrinum saw their first use earlier than Augustus can have anticipated. His nephew and son-in-law Marcellus died prematurely in 23 and was the first member of the imperial family to be buried in the dynastic tomb; Vergil explicitly links the Mausoleum with Aeneas's vision of the young man's spirit in the Underworld (*Aen.* 6.867–86; cf. Cassius Dio 53.30.4–6). A more elaborate funeral, however, was that of Agrippa, who died in 12, probably shortly after Augustus became pontifex maximus on 6 March (Cassius Dio 54.28.3–5). Ominous events heralded his demise: a comet appeared, and the Hut of Romulus on the Palatine burned (Cassius Dio 54.29.8). Augustus himself escorted the body of his friend and son-in-law back to Rome from Campania and supervised the funeral, which—we are told—served as the model for his own a quarter-century later (Koenen 1970; Malcovati 1972; Kissel 1998). Two more burials followed in quick succession: that of Augustus's sister, Octavia, who died in 11 (presumably buried in the Mausoleum; Cassius Dio 54.35), and that of Drusus Major, the son of Livia by her first husband and brother of Tiberius, in 9 (Cassius Dio 55.2.1–3; Seneca *Ad Marc.* 3.1; Engles 1998). Lucius and Gaius Caesar died in 2 and 4 CE, respectively; their bodies were brought back to Rome for burial, evidently in the Mausoleum (Gaius also had a cenotaph at Limyra).

After Augustus's death, Germanicus died in Antioch in 19 CE and was cremated there, but since Tiberius would not authorize a regular and complete funeral in Rome, his widow, Agrippina Major, carried his ashes on foot to Rome from Brindisi and deposited them in the Mausoleum to great displays of public mourning (Cassius Dio 57.18.6–10) and criticism of Tiberius and Livia. When Tiberius's son Drusus Minor died several years later in 23 CE, he was accorded all the ceremony that had been denied to Germanicus (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.9; Cassius Dio 57.22.1, 4). The funeral included a huge parade of images, including those of Aeneas, Romulus, all the Alban kings, Sabine nobles, and the effigies of the Claudians—appropriate since Drusus had been born a Claudian and became a Julian only when Augustus adopted Tiberius. When Tiberius died in 37, he received a public funeral, but was not deified (Cassius Dio 59.3.7). It seems that Tiberius's obsequies were given short shrift, no doubt because Caligula blamed him for the deaths of his mother and brothers, whose remains he ostentatiously buried in the Mausoleum at midday as an act of piety as soon after Tiberius's death as he could (Cassius Dio 59.3.5; Suetonius *Calig.* 15). The Mausoleum continued to be used

for most imperial funerals until the end of the first century CE (Kraagelund 1998) and was finally superseded in the second century by a similar tomb, that of Hadrian.

MODERN SUCCESSORS OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS

The monumental and centralizing tendencies identified here in the Mausoleum can be seen in the tombs for modern leaders. In recent years, the mausolea of the revolutionaries Mao Zedong in Beijing and of President Habib Bourguiba in Mahdia, Tunisia, have drawn on traditional architectural models as if their revolutionary accomplishments were predestined. In Beijing, Mao's mausoleum is aligned with the Forbidden City and adapts time-honored Chinese architectural forms; despite the Revolution's breaks with the imperial past, Mao in death is securely identified as a successor to the emperors. Similarly, Bouguiba's tomb at Mahdia occupies a promontory on the north side of the city that has been cleared of earlier tombs and obstructing buildings; his gilded and tiled mausoleum stands in splendid isolation, but resembles the mosque-tombs known throughout North Africa and Egypt.

At Ankara in Turkey, the Mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk (Anit Kabir) offers another instructive parallel (Vale 1992, 102–3, fig. 3.30). It stands at the end of a long processional avenue lined by pairs of lion statues in Hittite style, the Anatolian equivalent of the avenues of sphinxes in Egypt. The tomb is built on the commanding hill of the ancient citadel, Anittepe, overlooking the city, resplendent by day and floodlit by night. A three-sided staircase like a pyramid leads up to the terrace that supports the tomb and channels visitors toward the top, paralleled by relief figures on the flanking parapet walls like those at Persepolis. The structure proper consists of a huge cella with a large central doorway, flanked by walls carrying inscriptions.

The combination of leader-memorial and *Res Gestae* at the Mausoleum even finds close parallels in such non-tomb monuments in Washington, D.C., as the Lincoln Memorial and the recently completed memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt at the edge of the Tidal Basin. Inscribed on the walls of the Lincoln Memorial are excerpts from his speeches. At the Roosevelt memorial, rough-hewn granite walls are used to create a series of self-contained but interlocking rooms open to the sky; each summarizes and commemorates a different aspect of Roosevelt's four terms as president, identified by a series of inscriptions carved on the walls or engraved on bronze plaques.

CONCLUSION

Augustus planned and carried out the monumentalization of both his life and his death precociously. Perhaps he was driven by his models. At the age of thirty-five, the

approximate age of Alexander's death, his Mausoleum was finished, and he composed his *Res Gestae* at sixty, mindful perhaps of Pompey's death at that age and Caesar's at fifty-six. We therefore need to read these monuments—Ustrinum, Mausoleum, and *Res Gestae*—as definitive markers of Augustus's own personal agenda.

Octavian's relatively early decision to construct both the Ustrinum and Mausoleum seems based both on the desire to avoid the irregularities of late Republican funerals in Rome and on a self-conscious awareness of his accomplishments in relation to those of his models: Pompey, Caesar, and especially Alexander. The use of the northern Campus Martius for these monuments seems designed to link Octavian's Ustrinum with the place of Romulus's apotheosis, to create an area that could accommodate the inevitable spectacle around the process of cremation and burial, and at the same time to distance himself from earlier burials in the Campus.

None of the attempts to connect the Mausoleum with a single specific architectural prototype is particularly convincing. The circular form and mound of earth recall Etruscan tumuli, but not the high drum or the articulation of the crowning mound. The use of cut stone, along with the decorated friezes and coffers, suggests Greek influence, but these features mask the typical Roman use of cement for the construction of the interior. The sheer monumentality of the Mausoleum associates it with the projects of Hellenistic rulers in general but not specific terms. Thus the tomb of Augustus seems an eclectic but clear statement of power unparalleled in its entirety in earlier Greek and Roman tombs.

For those entering or leaving Rome on the north, the Mausoleum was impossible to ignore; the gardens around the tomb invited passersby to detour and spend leisure time wandering in the open spaces around the monument. The literate viewer could stop and read the *Res Gestae* inscribed at the entrance. The statue crowning the tomb served as a focusing device: the man may be gone, but his image, suspended midway between earth and sky, clearly anticipated his deification (cf. Cohon 1993). In these ways, the princeps distinguished himself from his predecessors and created a message of clear monarchical display and dynastic intent. Finally, there was an unambiguous political message: Augustus was declaring early his intention that he and the members of his family would be buried at Rome, the capital, rather than at Alexandria as Antony had wished. The obelisks reinforced the comparison between the two men. The erection of the Mausoleum long before the death of the emperor made his decision permanent, and a lasting part of the architectural landscape of the city. The Mausoleum of Augustus, with its *Res Gestae* and colossal crowning statue, is not simply a tomb but rather an architectural metaphor for deification. They are part of a long series of "great man" monuments stretching from the pyramids, Cyrus, and Alexander, to the tomb of Hadrian, and even to the tombs of the shapers of present-day nations.

Visualizing the Invisible

The Horologium-Solarium

Heaven divided into fixed parts,
The golden sun rules through the twelve constellations
—Vergil *Georgics* 1.231–32

INTRODUCTION

Figure 15

Nearly twenty years after construction of the Mausoleum had begun, a new structure was laid out in the northern Campus Martius between the Mausoleum and the Ustrinum: the Horologium-Solarium, a giant sundial that used a red granite obelisk imported from Egypt as its pointer (fig. 15; cf. figs. 16, 23). Although the Romans were already well acquainted with the technology and use of small sundials (Gibbs 1976), no project on this scale had ever before been attempted in Rome. Together with its base, the obelisk stood 100 Roman feet high and cast a shadow that, through the course of the year, traversed the northern surface of the sundial. This dial was a vast pavement of travertine (estimated at ca. 160 × 75 m) inlaid with bronze strips and Greek letters (cf. figs. 17, 23) to mark the sun's path through the constellations of the zodiac, as well as the solstices, equinoxes, and indications of the seasonal winds.

Figure 16, Figure 17

While the general physical appearance of the monument is well known (figs. 16–17), several recent studies have perpetuated misunderstandings about how it actually functioned. Moreover, the monarchical aspects of the project have been almost entirely neglected, though it was at royal institutions like the Great Library at Alexandria that the systematic study of mathematics and astronomy was first organized and put under the patronage of Hellenistic rulers.

It seems worthwhile, therefore, to lay out here five developments that contributed to the creation of Augustus's device in Rome: the growth of the science of mathematical astronomy and accurate timekeeping, the rise of the related field of astrology and

a belief in the astral deification of important individuals (catasterism), a growing tendency in literature and art to conceive of time and the cosmos visually, a general Greco-Roman and Etruscan belief in cyclical time, and Rome's need for an accurate calendar. We can then turn to the specifics of Augustus's sundial and how it functioned as a monarchic statement of cosmic imperium, and how Octavian commanded the resources necessary to implement this enormous project.

ASTRONOMY AND TIMEKEEPING

Although Greek mathematicians and astronomers were credited with the systematic investigation of the heavens as early as the seventh century (e.g., Berossus the Chaldaean of Kos, ca. 640, who perhaps taught Thales of Miletos), most advances in astronomy occurred from the fifth century on (Dicks 1966). Pythagoras of Samos, active in the second half of the sixth century, defined the earth as a sphere in space, surrounded by other heavenly bodies. In addition to observing the morning and evening star and determining the position of the ecliptic (the apparent path of the sun through the constellations) in reference to the earth's axis, he postulated a philosophical system of numbers, divine harmonies, and a doctrine of the transmigration of the soul that influenced the Neopythagoreans of Augustus's day.

By the first half of the fourth century, Eudoxos of Knidos had conceptualized the circular movements of the sun, moon, and five known planets as a series of spheres that surrounded the earth in a geocentric system. One of his works, the *Phainómena*, is largely preserved in a later poetic version under the same name by Aratus (see below).

With Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire, and the creation of centers of learning in the capitals of the major Hellenistic kingdoms, further advances became possible under royal authority and patronage. At Alexandria, Aristyllus and Timocharis (ca. 320–260) created the first catalogue of star positions, which provided the foundation for later studies of the precession of the equinoxes (discussed in more detail below).

Aratus of Soloi in Cilicia (ca. 315–245) spent time at the courts of Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon and Antiochus I of Syria before returning to Macedon, where he died. His surviving work, the *Phainómena* (Kidd 1995), was highly influential in Roman circles during the late Republic and early empire; Cicero, Varro, and perhaps Germanicus Caesar all attempted Latin translations (Breysig 1967; Gain 1976).

Around 250 Aristarchus of Samos argued that the sun, not the earth, was at the center of our universe (Heath 1913). Although his heliocentric system was generally rejected, he is credited with the invention of two types of sundial: hemispherical (*skáphion*, a spherical section cut into a rectangular block) and planar (a flat sundial that can be laid horizontally on the ground or set vertically on a wall; cf. fig. 18).

Augustus's sundial is a colossal example of the latter. In addition, Aristarchus was the author of *Catasterisms*, a collection of myths about individuals who had been transformed into stars or constellations.

Much of the early Greek interest in astronomy and timekeeping was related to mathematical attempts to calculate latitudes, longitudes, and geographic distances on the surface of the earth. Pytheas of Marseilles (second half of the fourth century) combined his interest in astronomy with his roles as a navigator and geographer. Through his own mathematical and territorial investigations (he sailed to the Baltic and perhaps regions farther north), he became aware of the different lengths of the day and night at the poles on the solstices (Pliny 4.104; Cunliffe 2002).

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (276–196) calculated the circumference of the earth using a gnomon set up at Alexandria and at Syene (Aswan). Assuming Syene and Alexandria to be on the same longitude, he used the distance between them and the differences between the angles of shadows cast there by the sun at noon to calculate with relative accuracy the earth's circumference (Strabo 2.5.38). These calculations were not simply academic exercises: the exploration of time and space were linked to the increasing awareness of the entire habitable world (*oikouménē gē*) that characterizes Hellenistic science and philosophy as a whole (Rihll 1999).

Although Archimedes of Syracuse (ca. 287–212) is best known for his work in determining the volumes of geometric shapes, he also constructed a celestial sphere that showed the movements of the sun, moon, and five planets. Following the sack of Syracuse in 211, during which Archimedes met his death, some of his mathematical devices were handed over directly to the Roman commander, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, including two celestial globes that he took to Rome. One of these he dedicated in the Temple of Honos and Virtus, but the other he kept as his personal property (Plutarch *Marc.* 19.6; Cicero *Rep.* 1.14.21–22). Other objects taken by the Romans included sundials and quadrants.

By the time of Hipparchus (ca. 194–120), the division of the zodiacal circle into 360 degrees seems to have been well established (Dicks 1970, 27–28). It may have been he who fixed the length of the tropical year (from equinox to equinox: 365 days, 5¾ hours) and the sidereal year (the tropical year plus 20 minutes). In addition, he determined the orbital periods of the five planets, the obliquity of the ecliptic (23 degrees 27 minutes) and of the moon's path, the place of the sun's apogee, and even the eccentricity of its apparent orbit. And he created a planisphere to serve as a working model of the universe he was describing—a painting of such a planisphere survives from the Roman villa of S. Marco, Stabiae (Cassani 1999, 32 no. 2.).

Hipparchus was also responsible for determining the precession of the equinoxes, the apparent movement of the equinox backward in time (more on this below). To do this he must have determined the solar position for the equinox. Significantly, it was also about the middle of the second century that Aries was chosen to start the zodiac at the vernal equinox. (Because of precession, the vernal equinox now occurs when the

sun is just about to enter the constellation Aquarius, two constellations “earlier” than Aries; hence New Age references to the Age of Aquarius.)

Three Roman authors provide useful summaries of the state of popular astronomical knowledge in Augustus’s time: Vitruvius, whose *De architectura* devotes much of Book 9 to the subject; Manilius, whose *Astronomica* unites astronomy and astrology in a poetic view of the cosmos that unabashedly honors Augustus (Flores 1960–61; Hübner 1984); and Ovid in the *Fasti*.

The astronomical advances outlined above are paralleled by the creation of devices for keeping accurate time. The conception of annual, as opposed to hourly, time was based on the apparent course of the sun through the zodiac. To understand how sundials were constructed in antiquity, we begin with the Greco-Roman conception of how the universe operated. The Romans understood that the earth was spherical but believed in a geocentric system: the earth at the center, surrounded by the heavenly sphere, against which all heavenly bodies moved. At right angles to the north-south polar axis of the earth is the equator, an imaginary line that encircles the earth; projected outward against the celestial sphere, this becomes the celestial equator.

The ecliptic, the apparent path of the sun as it circles the earth in this geocentric model, lies at an angle of 23 degrees 27 minutes to the celestial equator. (In reality, the plane of the ecliptic is the plane of the solar system, and it is the earth that has its north-south polar axis tilted at that angle.) Because the ecliptic is oblique to the plane of the celestial equator, the length of days and nights varies over the course of the year. At the spring (vernal) and fall (autumnal) equinoxes on 21 March and 21 September respectively (to use the conventional dates), the sun crosses the equator and the day and night are of equal length (Manilius 3.644–51, 658.61). At the winter and summer solstices on 21 December and 21 June, respectively, the sun reaches its southernmost and northernmost points on the ecliptic, resulting in the shortest and longest days of the year. The term “solstice” refers to the apparent “standstill of the sun” on those dates, and the visible location of the sun at those moments lies at 23 degrees 27 minutes above the equator (the Tropic of Cancer) and below it (the Tropic of Capricorn); the sun appears to be in those constellations as it turns back (whence the term “tropic,” from Greek *trópos*).

In the geocentric system, the zodiac is the band of stars and constellations that appears to encircle the earth behind the sun along the line of the ecliptic; this band is divided into twelve regions demarcated by constellations or “signs” or “houses” (table 3). Starting from the vernal equinox, when the sun (in the second century) appeared to be in Aries (and where it is still conventionally placed in astrological horoscopes today), it moves eastward through the constellations Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. Each sign spans approximately 30 degrees (yielding a complete 360-degree circle), and it takes about a month for the sun to pass through each, starting on the conventional date of 21 March each year (the vernal equinox and the conventional “first point” of Aries). The division

of the circle into 360 degrees and the construction of twelve signs of 30 degrees each probably developed in Babylonia (given the use of a sexagesimal, rather than a decimal, system of numbers) and was introduced into Greece in the late fifth or even the fourth century (Dicks 1970, 27; Pfundstein 2003).

Precession, a slight wobble in the earth's axis (like that of a spinning top as it slows), causes the earth's north-south poles, and therefore the stars they appear to point to, to transcribe a small circle every 26,000 years; at the present moment (the year 2006) the north pole appears to point to the star Polaris (the approximate present location of the celestial north pole) located at the tip of the handle in the Little Dipper (Ursa Minor). But 2,000 years ago the celestial north pole was located about halfway between Thuban in the constellation Draco and Polaris, much closer therefore to the bowl of the Little Dipper itself.

This wobble also causes the apparent location of the sun in the zodiacal constellations to shift westward over the years as well (by one degree every 72 years); since a constellation is about 30 degrees wide, the equinox will retreat, or precess, through one constellation in roughly 2,160 years (72×30 degrees). In the Hellenistic period (ca. 150, or 2,150 years ago), the vernal equinox did in fact occur when the sun was first entering Aries, but now, because of precession, the sun at the vernal equinox is actually almost through Pisces, one constellation to the west of Aries, and is just about to enter Aquarius (it will do so in 2013). As noted earlier, the fact that the zodiacal location of the sun at the equinoxes moves westward over time was first observed by the Hellenistic astronomer Hipparchus, and it may have been he who fixed the vernal equinox in Aries. Since then, we have retained this location as a conventional one, and even today astrological charts begin with Aries and show that house as lasting from 21 March to 19 April, even though during that time each year the sun now is actually

Table 3. Zodiacal signs and dates

Aries	(Ram)	21 March (vernal equinox)– 19 April
Taurus	(Bull)	20 April–20 May
Gemini	(Twins)	21 May–20 June
Cancer	(Crab)	21 June (summer solstice)–22 July
Leo	(Lion)	23 July–22 August
Virgo	(Virgin)	23 August–22 September
Libra	(Balance)	23 September (autumnal equinox)–22 October
Scorpio	(Scorpion)	23 October–21 November
Sagittarius	(Archer)	22 November–21 December
Capricorn	(Goat)	22 December (winter solstice)–19 January
Aquarius	(Watercarrier)	20 January–18 February
Pisces	(Fishes)	19 February–20 March

seen to move through Pisces. Thus, any conventional description of the sun's position in the zodiac now differs from its actual location by almost two constellations, and this difference will become progressively greater over time.

Sundials in the Mediterranean world developed alongside the astronomical advances of the Hellenistic period. Although Anaximander of Miletos (ca. 530) was thought in later times to have created a celestial globe or model of his astronomical system, this is unlikely. Similarly, the story that he set up a device at Sparta for casting the sun's shadow (*skiothērion*) in order to observe equinoxes and solstices may be anachronistic (Pliny 2.187; Dicks 1970, 26–40; Couprie 1995). In the fifth century, the Athenian astronomer Meton was able to make an accurate observation of the solstices and to create an ideal Metonic Cycle of nineteen years based on a recurring pattern of solar and lunar months (Depuydt 1996).

During the Classical period, the Athenians used waterclocks mostly as a means of measuring intervals of time, but not usually the specific hours of the day, although two waterclocks for counting long hours were in service, one in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropos, the other, the Tower of the Winds (fig. 18), next to the later Roman forum in Athens. Both are late Hellenistic (Allen 1996). In Rome, a waterclock that measured the hours of the day and night was set up by Scipio Nasica Corculum in or near the Basilica Aemilia in 159 (Varro *Ling.* 6.4).

Figure 18

Sundials to calculate the hours of the day were probably not developed until the Hellenistic period. The earliest examples are first attested archaeologically at such sites as Delos and Pompeii (Zanker 1998, 79–80), which together have produced the greatest numbers of them. These small civic sundials reveal that the concern for accurate timekeeping was widespread across the Mediterranean and had already permeated Italy outside Rome.

Some sundials may have been quite large in order to make them more accessible to groups of people. In the third century, a public sundial stood in the Achradina neighborhood of the city of Syracuse. A huge pleasure ship built by Hieron of Syracuse, emulating the elaborate vessels constructed by the Ptolemies, had a library whose ceiling imitated this sundial (Athenaeus 5.207e–f; Grimm 1998, 60–63, fig. 54a, 54b). The octagonal Tower of the Winds at Athens, now dated to the second rather than the first century, combines vertical planar sundials on its outer faces with an interior waterclock in a public monument embellished with panel reliefs with winged personifications representing the winds (von Freeden 1983, 145–84; Rottländer et al. 1989; Ward-Perkins 1981, 264–65, fig. 166; H. Kienast 1993, 1997; cf. Varro *Rust.* 3.5.7). A private version of this public monument seems to have existed by the first century in Italy. Varro's famous aviary at Casinum, constructed in the mid-50s, had a hemispherical ceiling marked with the stars Lucifer and Hesperus (i.e., Venus as morning and evening star), which apparently moved to depict the hours of the day and night, along with an interior device connected to a weathervane outside so guests could tell which of the eight winds was blowing (Varro *Rust.* 3.5.9–17; Van Buren and Kennedy

1919; G. Fuchs 1962; Sauron 1994, 137–63). This construction foreshadowed Nero's mechanical ceiling in the dining room of the Golden House, which rotated day and night (Suetonius *Ner.* 31.2).

Sundials could also be incorporated into other types of building. By the time of Pompey's triumph in 61, the Roman public would have recognized the horologium in the pediment of the Temple of the Muses that he exhibited in his procession. In the Julio-Claudian period, Petronius in his *Satyrica* (71) has Trimalchio, the offensive nouveau-riche freedman, describe the horologium that is to be part of his funerary complex: passersby who want to know the time of day would also be forced to reflect on Trimalchio and his achievements, clearly a parody of Augustus's monuments in the northern Campus Martius.

At Rome the public had been exposed to sundials since the early third century (Pliny 7.213–14, 15.121). The first was set up at the Temple of Quirinus by L. Papirius Cursor. Another sundial was taken from Catania in Sicily in 263 and set atop a column in the Roman Forum; the lines of this sundial did not agree with the hours (because of the difference in latitude between Catania and Rome); but all the same, the Romans followed it for ninety-nine years, until Quintus Marcius Philippus, who was censor with Lucius Paulus, placed a more carefully designed sundial next to it (cf. the mosaic from the House of T. Siminius Stephanus at Torre Annunziata, which depicts the members of Plato's Academy in Athens grouped in front of a sundial mounted atop a column; by their feet is a box containing a celestial globe; Naples 124545; De Caro 1996, 186 col. fig.; Ling 1998: 30 col. fig. 17; Andreae 2003, col. fig. 248).

Vitruvius (9.8) gives a list of the inventors of sundials and their types; he is also aware that to create a sundial of convenient size, one needs to factor the latitude into the calculations (in the northern hemisphere, latitude is equal to the height in degrees of the pole star—now Polaris—above the horizon). Most importantly, he describes how the length of the equinoctial shadow cast by a gnomon of known height can be used to construct a mechanical analogue, the *análemma*—a geometrical construction used to lay out the horologium on a pavement and mark out the twelve standard hours of the day.

To construct a horologium-solarium is actually quite simple. To present the year visually, one needs to see and chart the changing course of the sun. It is most convenient to do this by charting the changing course of the sun's shadow as an inverted reflection (as it were) of the sun itself. To do this, one merely plants a stick in the ground as a gnomon and marks on the ground the changing course and length of its shadow through each day of the year. The lines produced on the ground are antipodal to the course the sun seems to follow through the sky: thus, when the sun appears to rise in the east and move west, the shadow from the gnomon falls to the west and moves east. In the northern hemisphere, the shadow from the gnomon at any latitude north of 23 degrees 27 minutes (Rome is almost at latitude 42 degrees north) always falls to the north, never to the south (Favro 1996, 130 dramatically misunderstands this

point by having the shadow of Augustus's obelisk point in all directions, even south toward the Pantheon). Augustus could have the horologium so constructed that its shadow could point to significant structures on significant days, as on the fall and spring equinoxes, when the gnomon's shadow traced the city's latitude line straight across the pavement from west to east during the course of the day, falling finally at sunset toward the open doorway of the Ara Pacis. The Romans did know places that were so far to the south (like India) that the gnomons of sundials did not always cast a shadow (Diodorus Siculus 2.35.2).

ASTROLOGY AND CATASTERISM

In Greco-Roman antiquity, the concept of time was annual, cyclical, and personal, based on the connection between the sun's course, the constellation it appears to move through, and personal associations with that constellation, like birthdays. Thus, astronomy and astrology were inseparable (Cramer 1954; Hübner 1989). Modern astronomy, by contrast, disassociates the personal from an empirical understanding of celestial relationships and time, a concept quite different from the idea of a politicized cosmology (Broda 1982, 1993; Ruggles 1997, 204–5). T. Barton has recently suggested that astrology is particularly prevalent in monarchical systems, and its importance in imperial Rome has been linked with its use as a form of political control (1994a, 1994b; Liebeschütz 1979; Gagé 1982a).

Astrology also includes the prediction of future events through observation and interpretation of celestial phenomena, an aspect that seems to have developed in Mesopotamia and gradually spread west toward the Mediterranean world, although it did not become truly popular until the Hellenistic period. The monumental tomb of Antiochus I on Mt. Nemrud, for example, included a relief representing the horoscope of the king (Jacobs 1998, 171–18, pl. 16.1). A panel depicts a lion with frontal head and profile body (fig. 19); stars of various sizes are located on the body, marking out the constellation Leo; above the body are three large stars inscribed in Greek with the honorific names of, left to right, Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter; and a waxing crescent moon appears on the lion's chest. Apparently the relief refers to a conjunction of these four heavenly bodies that modern computer models would date to 5–7 July 62. What this date refers to is debated. One possibility is that it refers to the conception, birth, or coronation of a king of Commagene. But another possibility is that the convergence occurred when Antiochus I was recognized as king by Pompey as part of his settlement of the east.

A belief in astrology was particularly pervasive in Rome during the late Republic and early imperial period. The names of two individuals stand out in our sources. Around the middle of the first century, Tarrutius used astrology to reconstruct the horoscopes of Romulus and of Rome itself by working backward from what was known (or

Figure 19

surmised) about each at the time; his conclusion was that Romulus was conceived on 23 December 772/1 and born on 23 September 771/0 (in the Egyptian months of Choeac and Thoth, respectively; Plutarch *Rom.* 12.5–6; Scott 1925; Barton 1995; Brind’Amour 1983, 240–49 recalculates Tarrutius to have Romulus born six months earlier or later). His contemporary, P. Nigidius Figulus, was a senator and polymath who wrote on a number of subjects, including astrology and Pythagoreanism; he believed that the year began on the vernal equinox (Servius *Georg.* 1.43), and also predicted that Octavian was born to be ruler of the world (Suetonius *Aug.* 94.4; Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 76–77). Although it is not clear how seriously people took their prognostications, these two individuals were associated with the intellectual leaders of the time (including Cicero and Varro), and both were well versed in Egyptian astrological lore.

An important aspect of astrology and Pythagoreanism was catasterism, the belief that some deserving humans would eventually be united with the heavens, most often as constellations (Varro *Res Div.* I, frag. 25b ed. R. Agahd = *Commentarius Bernensis* of Lucan IX.9). The transportation to heaven of the Dioscuri and Herakles is well known, followed by Callimachus’s facetious example of the lock of hair of the Ptolemaic queen, Berenike. Catullus’s adaptation of the theme illustrates how widespread such ideas were in Roman intellectual circles by the late Republic (Catullus 66; Gutzweiler 1992). In Vergil’s *Aeneid* 6, for example, Anchises describes the stellar origin of souls to Aeneas.

Catasterism is such a well-established literary topos among Augustan poets that a few examples will suffice to show its political range. Vergil invokes Octavian as a future god in universal terms (*G.* 1.24–42): he will watch over cities or come as god of the boundless sea or appear as a new star between Virgo and Scorpio (i.e., in the constellation Libra, the sign of Augustus’s birth). In *Aeneid* 8.680–81 the poet has Octavian appear at the Battle of Actium, his head surrounded by fire and with “his father’s” star on his helmet (more on this below). And in *Aeneid* 9.641–42, as Iulus-Ascanius prepares to make his first kill, Jupiter thunders and Apollo addresses the youth, giving him a formula for deification: “blessing, child, on your young valor. So man ascends to the stars, o son of gods and sire of gods to be.”

The most compelling and politically significant ancient example of catasterism was Octavian’s association of Julius Caesar with the comet that appeared during his funeral games in July of 44 (Ovid *Met.* 15.843–51; E. Ramage 1985; Domenicucci 1996; Ramsey 2000). In a recent restudy of the scientific and textual evidence, J. Ramsey and A. L. Licht have presented a strong case (1997) that in 44, as his first public act, Octavian moved the games in honor of Venus Genetrix from their former date in September to late July so that they could serve as the funerary games honoring Caesar; subsequently these games became known as the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*. After the Senate officially deified Caesar in 42, Octavian could claim to be the son of a god (*divi filius*), a boast that none of his opponents could match (though Antony became the first *flamen Iulialis* in charge of Caesar’s new cult). But it was a claim that Agrippina

Major could use against Tiberius a dozen years after Augustus's death: how could he honor the cult of divus Augustus while persecuting herself? She was, after all, Augustus's "true image, sprung from his celestial blood," unlike Tiberius, who had only been adopted into the Julian *gens* by Augustus, and as a last resort (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.52.4–5).

To connect him securely with the divine Julius, coins were minted that show Octavian placing a star above Caesar's statue in his temple in the Forum Romanum on the site where he had been cremated (Crawford 1974, 540–41). Later Julio-Claudian princes were sometimes depicted with a similar star, like the youth (Caesar or Germanicus?) on the well-known Ravenna relief, which has both a carved star and a hole for the insertion of an attachment, perhaps a star of gilded bronze. Sealings from Cyprus show the head of Kaisarion, the son of Caesar by Cleopatra, with a star over his forehead as well, indicating that Caesar's astral divinity was claimed for political purposes by both of his sons (Kyrieleis 1986; 1990, pl. 67a).

Octavian not only inherited Caesar's star but also swiftly made it his own. That a comet or supernova coincided with the new festival date in 44 may have been no more than a lucky chance, but Octavian exploited it fully by also interpreting Caesar's star as a sign of his own birth or rebirth (Pliny 2.93–94). And to hammer the point home, when Octavian entered Rome shortly after Caesar's assassination, a solar nimbus or circle of stars was observed around his head, a sure sign of his future greatness (Suetonius *Aug.* 95; Seneca *Q Nat.* 1.2.1; Pliny 2.98; Velleius Paterculus 2.59.6; cf. Ramsey and Licht 1997, 99–107).

At the time of the Secular Games in 17, another comet seems to have been anticipated (there is no evidence that one actually appeared), since a denarius was minted that depicted on the obverse the distinctively garbed herald who announced the games, coupled with the image of a youthful head crowned by a star on the reverse—perhaps not the image of a rejuvenated Caesar, as is often assumed, but rather the image of Augustus's Genius as the guiding spirit of the new *saeculum* (Hofter et al. 1988, 520–21 no. 357; Ramsey and Licht 1997, 142–43).

From early in his political career, contemporary writers linked Augustus to the heavens. There were several versions of this established *topos* (Bayet 1939): Augustus will exercise universal imperium that reaches even to the stars (Vergil *Aen.* 1.286–88; contrast Dobbin 1995); he is on loan from heaven and will return to it (Manilius 1.373–85: "Augustus, like a star, has fallen to our world: greatest lawgiver on earth, and in heaven hereafter"; and see 4.548–52 on "the child" born under Libra, at the fall equinox); he will have his own constellation in the zodiac (Vergil *G.* 1.24–42); and he belongs in the Milky Way, which is the home of heroes (Manilius 1.799–808; Ovid *Met.* 1.168–76). Even Rome is "made one with heaven" (Manilius 4.694–95). At his death in 14 CE, several comets, blood red in color, confirmed his deification (Cassius Dio 56.29.3).

Augustus's personal belief in astrology is well attested. According to Suetonius, while the young Octavian and Agrippa were studying at Apollonia in 44, they visited

the astrologer Theogenes, who foretold Octavian's world rule, and "from then on Augustus had such faith in his destiny that he made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the constellation Capricorn, under which he was born" (more on this below; *Aug* 94.12; cf. Cassius Dio 56.25.5; Barton 1994a, 47). Even Octavian's body was said to be an astronomical and astrological portent: birthmarks on his chest and stomach resembled the constellation Ursa Major (Suetonius *Aug.* 80.1; Vergil *Aen.* 6.791–97). The symbolism was obvious: in Augustus's time, the earth's north axis pointed to a central spot between the two constellations, Ursa Major and Minor, and both would have appeared to revolve around it; so Augustus himself was the center around which the entire world revolved. This metaphor—ruler as center of the cosmos—is ancient; it goes back at least to Demetrios Poliorcetes (Riess 1933; Barton 1994a, 56; Davies 2000, 87, n. 36) and maybe back to Pythagoras (Iamblichus, *VP*).

Although Augustus's official birthday was on 23–24 September, at the beginning of Libra and coinciding approximately with the fall equinox, he chose instead to promote the iconography of the winter solstice and the constellation Capricorn (late December–late January): it was under this sign that he was conceived, he assumed the fasces for his first grant of imperium on 7 January 43, and he accepted the title Augustus on 16 January 27 (Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 373). Since ancient sources speak of Capricorn as his "birth" sign (Suetonius *Aug.* 90.12; Manilius 2.507–9), there has been some confusion among modern scholars as to its significance (Housman 1913; Brind'Amour 1983, 384; Brugnoli 1989); some have argued that it was the moon that was in Capricorn at the time of Augustus's birth in September (Riess 1892; Abry 1988; Schütz 1990). But whereas we moderns distinguish conception from birth, the ancients conflated them, perceiving conception and birth as a continuous process (Younger 2004, 34–36).

Capricorn, represented as a goat with a fish tail, had often been considered a baleful sign, since it marked midwinter and began near the shortest day of the year (Cicero *Aratea* 58–59; Manilius 2.659; Petronius 39.12; Propertius 4.1.86). As he did with Caesar's comet, however, Augustus deliberately chose to interpret this sign positively: Capricorn was thought to rule "all that lies beneath the setting sun," like Augustus himself (Manilius 4.791–94). Starting in 28/27 it appears on a number of objects, mostly coins and cameos, but also in architecture, where it is sometimes combined with other symbols: the oak wreath garland (*corona civica*) for saving or preserving the lives of citizens, the cornucopia as a sign of fertility, the rudder to illustrate good governance, and the world or cosmic globe to stand for universal empire (Fuhrmann 1941, 611; Vollenweider 1966, 60; 1967–83, 2:512–19; 1972–74, 197, n. 31; Kraft 1967; Dwyer 1973; Mattingly 1984, nos. 305, 344–46, 349–50, 653, 655, 696; Hoffer et al. 1988, nos. 337–38; Bellen 1991; Barton 1994a, 40–47). In 20, for instance, Capricorn appears on aurei that celebrate Augustus's major diplomatic success, the return from Parthia of the lost Roman legionary standards (Mattingly 1984, 110 no. 680), an event that is also commemorated on the breastplate of the *Primaporta Augustus* (see below). These

numismatic issues were obviously meant for public consumption, the lowest common denominator of imperial message-making, and the one that reached the widest audience. There can be no better indication of the importance that Augustus attached to the sign.

Capricorn also appears on two important works that are usually considered “court” art, designed for a small and privileged circle of viewers: the so-called Actium Victory Cameo and the Gemma Augustea, both in Vienna. The Victory Cameo (Eichler and Kris 1927, 50–51 no. 5; Dwyer 1973, 64–65; Kuttner 1995, 36, n. 5, fig. 19 upper right) depicts a heroically nude Octavian in a marine quadriga drawn by tritons; the outermost tritons raise a globe in their hands. Each globe is surmounted by another object: on the right, a Victory holding a crown; on the left, two capricorns supporting a shield encircled by a laurel wreath. The reverse of the gem is engraved with a laurel garland framing a capricorn; beneath the wreath an eagle grasps a thunderbolt.

The Gemma Augustea (fig. 20) shows a composition in two registers (Furtwängler 1900, 1:pl. 56, 2:257–58; Eichler and Kris 1927, 52–56 no. 7; Kùthmann 1950–51; Kähler 1968; Dwyer 1973, 65–66; Pollini 1978, 173–254; 1993a; E. Simon 1986a, 156–61; 1986b; D. Kleiner 1992, 69–72; Kuttner 1995, 90–91, 150–51, 188–89, 192–93). Above, Augustus is enthroned as Jupiter with Roma; the goddess Oikouménē (the inhabitable world), wearing her mural diadem, crowns him; Tellus/Italia and Oceanus/Neptune or Saturn/Cronus are by her side. Framed against a solar disk directly above Augustus’s head is a Capricorn displayed against a star. To the left, Tiberius dismounts from a quadriga with the figure of Victory as his attendant. In the lower register, captive barbarians are grouped on either side of a trophy; one shield bears a Scorpion, Tiberius’s birth sign. The gem is usually interpreted as an allegory commissioned on the occasion of Tiberius’s triumph in 7 BCE or 12 CE.

Figure 20

Capricorn’s associations with cosmic rule were even broader than its link with Augustus’s conception. The late Republican polymath Nigidius Figulus (who prophesied the world rule of Augustus; Suetonius *Aug.* 94.6) wrote a surviving commentary that linked Capricorn with Pan (and the Egyptian Horus); these divinities had assisted the Olympian gods in defeating the Titans or Typhon. E. Dwyer (1973, 61–63, 66–67) suggests that this story was adopted as a paradigm for, and justification of, Octavian’s pursuit of the assassins of Caesar. As Augustus was born at sunrise, Capricorn signals the rebirth of the sun at the winter solstice, neatly fitting in with the Augustan connection with Apollo. Finally, Capricorn, as the sign of the new year, can be seen as guarantor of the Golden Age (*aurea aetas*), as well as the sign that governed the west (Gaul, Spain, and Germany; Manilius 4.791–96). In the *Aratea* ascribed to Germanicus Caesar (554–60), Capricorn even conveys Augustus’s soul to heaven.

Libra (the Weighing Balance) is another sign connected with Augustus, since it marks his actual birthdate in September and the month of Rome’s putative foundation (Brind’Amour 1983, 240–49; Grafton and Swerdlow 1986); according to Manilius it also had charge over Italy and the west (4.770–77):

Visualizing the Invisible

What sign would better care for Italy, if Italy could choose, than that which rules all, knows the weights of things, marks totals, and separates the unequal from the equal, the sign under which the seasons are in balance and the hours of night and day match? Her Libra holds the west; beneath it Rome is the established sovereign over the world, Rome, which controls the issue of events, raising and lowering nations in the scales: beneath this sign was born the emperor, who has now founded a better city and governs a world that hangs on his command alone.

VISUALIZING TIME AND THE COSMOS

The visualization of time and the cosmos had a long tradition before the Augustan period, beginning with Homer's verbal description of the cosmos on the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* Book 19 (Stanley 1993). In the Classical period, the birth of Athena in the east pediment of the Parthenon was envisioned as a cosmic, repeating event, framed by the figures of Helios and Selene (Sun and Moon), which rise from and descend into the corners of the pedimental shelf (cf. the Hellenistic marble screen from the sanctuary of the Syrian god Echmoun near Sidon; Stucky 1984, 1993). Euripides describes the tapestries of a festival tent as having woven cosmic decorations (*Ion* 1132–65; Goff 1988; Zeitlin 1994; Stieber 1998; Simon 1998b). A personal move toward assimilating the cosmos occurs with Demetrios Poliorcetes, who associated himself with Helios. He had a chlamys that was embroidered with gold stars and signs of the zodiac; the garment was unfinished, however, when he fell from power, and nobody else dared to wear it (Plutarch *Dem.* 41.4–5; Athenaeus 12.535e–f).

We can see a public reflection of these intellectual and artistic concerns with time in the court-sponsored activities of the Hellenistic world, especially the grand procession, or *pompē*, of Ptolemy II Philadelphos at Alexandria ca. 280–70 (Athenaeus 5.197c–203a; Fraser 1972; Rice 1983; Kuttner 1999b). The procession, held in midwinter in the stadium of the city (Foertmeyer 1988), was a cosmic event enacted on earth, framed by marching divisions at the beginning and end that were named after the morning star (Eosphoros) and the evening star (Hesperos)—appropriate images, since the pageant lasted an entire day. Appearing in the procession was a man more than six feet tall wearing a tragic costume and mask, carrying a gold cornucopia, who personified the year (*Eniautós*). Following him was a beautiful woman, equally tall and wearing a tunic elaborately decorated with gold, holding a crown of persea and a palm branch, representing *Penteterís*, the (inclusive) five-year cycle of the festival. After her came the four seasons (*Hōrai*), beautifully dressed, with each carrying characteristic fruits; we can gain some impression of what these individuals looked like from their representation on stone reliefs and in mold-made Arretine vessels of early imperial date (Moevs 1987). Statues representing Night, Day, Earth, Heaven, Morning, and Noon were carried in the festival procession for Antiochus IV Epiphanes at Daphne outside

Antioch in 166, a pageant that imitated the Roman triumph held by Aemilius Paullus in Macedonia the previous year. It also included 5,000 men dressed as Roman soldiers, tens of thousands of men of different nationalities, 250 pairs of gladiators, 4,000 horsemen, 140 horse-drawn chariots, chariots drawn by elephants, and 36 elephants in a file. Following these were 800 young men with gold crowns, a display of 800 ivory tusks, images of other gods and mythological characters, a vast quantity of gold and silver plate, and women sprinkling perfumes or riding in rich litters. The culminating events were gladiatorial games, beast fights, anointing of the public with perfumes, and banquets with entertainments. The king, as host, made an unseemly spectacle of himself (Athenaeus 5.194–95g; Bevan 1900; Murray 1996; Edmondson 1999).

Perhaps the most sophisticated and learned representation of cosmological order occurs in the frieze that encircled the base of the Great Altar at Pergamon (E. Simon 1975; Pollitt 1986, 97–110). Although numerous interpretations of its sculptural program have been proposed, all agree that on some level the battle between the gods and giants makes a statement about the perceived order of the cosmos. The personifications of celestial elements are numerous, including Helios and Selene, as well as Hēméra (Day), Nyx (Night), Aithēr (Heaven), and others.

Other personifications of time and the cosmos appear on the well-known relief signed by Archelaos of Priene, found at Bovillae in Latium (Pinkwart 1965; Pollitt 1986, 16; Ridgway 1990, 257–65; 2000, 207–8; Smith 1991, 187). Various dates in the second to first century have been proposed, but it is clear that the lowest register shows the crowning of Homer by the “Inhabitable World” (*Oikouménē*) and “Time” (*Khrónos*), since the figures are actually identified by inscription. *Oikouménē* and Time are thought by some to be disguised portraits of Hellenistic rulers (e.g., Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, or Antiochus VIII Grypos and his mother, Cleopatra Thea), though no consensus has yet emerged (the heads are small). The use of the cosmic personifications on the relief, however, foreshadows the use of related personifications in early imperial art, as on the Gemma Augustea.

Since the Archelaos relief was found in the vicinity of Rome, it seems clear that by the late second or early first century such concepts were familiar to educated members of the public. Pompey’s triumphal procession in 61 (chapter 2) included a shrine of the Muses (*musaeum*), made entirely of pearls, with a horologium in or on its pediment (*fastigium*; Pliny 37.14). Although the work was clearly considered novel because of its precious material, we can assume that the general public understood its meaning.

Such references to time and the cosmos formed the intellectual underpinning for several other works of art. Another cameo work in sardonyx, the Tazza Farnese, continues to present problems of dating and interpretation for modern scholars (La Rocca 1984b; Dwyer 1992; Pollini 1992), but there is general agreement that on some level it represents an allegory of the fertility of Egypt and includes cosmic allusions. Central to the scene is the anthropomorphic image of the Nile, which inundated the land each

summer on a repeating cycle. Other figures have been interpreted as references to the constellations and seasonal winds.

Figure 21

The breastplate of the Prima porta Augustus (fig. 21) is also thought to depict a historical event (the return of the Roman standards from Parthia in 20) couched in terms of a cosmic event. At the top of the scene, a veiled Caelus (personification of Sky) is flanked by Helios in his quadriga and a female with a torch riding on the back of a winged woman. The exchange of standards takes place in the central register, flanked by territorial personifications to left and right; below these framing figures are Apollo on a griffin to left and Diana with a stag to right. At the bottom of the composition are a recumbent Tellus (Earth) with cornucopia and two small children, perhaps Romulus and Remus. We might compare the composition on the cuirass of an early imperial figure (Augustus or perhaps Gaius Caesar) from Chercel (Fittschen 1976; E. Simon 1986a, 254, col. pl. 8).

Several of the panel reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias show personifications of time and geographic boundaries. The figures of Day (*Hēméra*) and Ocean (*Okeanós*) were found with inscribed bases: these had decorated the upper register of the north portico (Smith 1990, 89, n. 4, 92). These panels were perhaps matched elsewhere in the complex by Earth and Night.

These sculptural works had literary counterparts in the writings of Roman authors. The most complex of these is the description of the shield of Aeneas (Vergil *Aen.* 8.626–731), which has often been discussed as a reworking for a Roman audience of Homer's shield of Achilles (Hardie 1986, 336–76). In Book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes the visit of Phaethon to the shining palace of his father, the sun. The double doors of the palace carry a depiction of the cosmos and everything in it: earth encircled by the stream of ocean, and the heavens above with the signs of the zodiac. Within, Phoebus sits on an emerald throne, wearing a radiate crown; attending him are Day, Month, Year, and Century (*Saeculum*), as well as the Hours and Seasons.

Also writing in the Augustan period, Antipater of Thessalonica describes a gift to his patron, L. Calpurnius Piso, of a pair of (silver?) hemispherical cups engraved or embossed with the constellations; when the cups were empty, they could be fitted together to form the celestial sphere (*Greek Anthology* 9.541): “Theogenes sends Piso these well-made bowls; between us we contain the heavens, for we are cut from a sphere, and one of us has the southern stars, the other the constellations in the north. You need no longer look up your Aratus; drink double measure from the pair, and behold all the Phainómena.” Fitted together, the cups resemble a globe that survives in bronze (Künzl 1996).

During the banquet of Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyrica* (35–39), a large platter is brought in with the twelve zodiacal signs around the edge and an appropriate type of food set on each (Colin 1951; Rose and Sullivan 1968; Ackermann and Gisler 1981–97, 8.1:490–92, s.v. “Zodiacus”; Salza Prina Ricotti 1982–84; Sauron 2000, 48). The host expounds his interpretation of the various zodiacal characters, including Cancer,

which governed his birth: “I was born under the Crab. So I have many legs to stand on, and many possessions by sea and land, for either one or the other suits your Crab.” Other signs are interpreted humorously: runaway slaves belong to Virgo; those born under Pisces make good chefs and rhetoricians; butchers are born under Libra. The appreciative and sycophantic guests swear that Trimalchio has surpassed even Hipparchus and Aratus in his erudition.

CYCLICAL TIME

The Romans inherited a concern with cyclical time both from the Etruscans and from the Greeks. Although the Horologium-Solarium was based primarily on Greek scientific advances, the repetition of the sun’s annual cycle at the Horologium-Solarium meshed with Roman ideas about the cyclical nature of time and the calendar (Michels 1967; Samuel 1972; Gordon 1983, 226–33). The Greeks believed in the concept of a Great Year that was both astronomical and philosophical (van der Waerden 1952; Philip 1966; Trompf 1979), a time when all the heavenly bodies returned to the same position that they had held at some specified time in the past (Plato *Ti.* 39d; Cicero *Rep.* 6.22.24, *Nat. d.* 1.8.18, *Fin.* 2.5.15; Verrius Flaccus; Festus 147M; Holliday 1990, 543–44). As early as the fifth century in Athens, Meton established a repeating cycle of nineteen years as a kind of Great Year, involving just the sun and the moon and beginning on 13 Skirophorion (Diodorus Siculus 36.12; Merritt 1928, 88). Diodorus Siculus (2.47.1–6) links this Great Year with Apollo, who visited the Hyperboreans every nineteen years, from the vernal equinox to the beginning of summer, at which time he returned to Greece. The early Roman calendar attributed to King Numa was clearly modeled on these Greek systems, since it too incorporated a repeating nineteen-year cycle (Livy 1.19.6).

There was the common association of these nineteen-year cosmic cycles with cataclysmic events—destruction of the universe by fire (Herakleitos) or its renewal (Neopythagoreanism). Herakleitos, for example, believed that the earth had been born from fire and would end in it as well (*ekpúrōsis*), while a major element of Neopythagorean thought was that the cycles of the world’s history would recur and lead to renewal rather than destruction (*metakósmēsis*).

Roman concepts of cyclical time also derive from the Etruscan belief that their culture would last only a certain number of cycles (*saecula*), and then disappear (Sordi 1972). These *saecula* were usually interpreted as 100 or 110 years, but they could sometimes be a span of shorter duration: a single human generation, or the age denoted by the lifespan of its longest-lived member (Hall 1986). Rome’s legendary second king, Numa, for example, represented the first *saeculum* of the city’s existence because he was born on the day the city was founded by Romulus (said to have been on the vernal equinox; Plutarch *Num.* 3.6; Servius *Georg.* 1.43; Brind’Amour 1983, 240–49). Numa died seventy-six years later (four Metonic Great Years). Probably because Augustus

also died at age seventy-six (actually, a month short of that age), some senators proposed, unsuccessfully, that his lifespan be termed the *saeculum augustum* (Suetonius *Aug.* 100.4).

This Etruscan concept of secular time seems essentially pessimistic, marking a steady devolution toward eventual extinction, somewhat similar to the view expressed by Hesiod. The short ninth saeculum of Rome was widely believed to span the troubled Civil War period from 88 to 44, with Caesar's comet marking the transition to the tenth cycle under Octavian. According to Etruscan beliefs, the inauguration of this last cycle was construed negatively: the haruspex Vulcanius announced the new saeculum publicly in 44, and then promptly died for having revealed the secrets of the gods (Servius *Ecl.* 9.46; Weinstock 1971, 195). At Rome there was a celebration of the *ludi saeculares* in 146, and plans seem to have been laid for another celebration in 49, 46, or sometime in the 20s. P. Valerius Acisculus, a *tresvir monetalis* in 45, even went so far as to mint coins that depicted "secular symbols" (Crawford 1974, 483, 736–37).

But from at least the middle of the second century, the inauguration of a new age and the appearance of a messiah or world ruler were widely heralded in various intellectual circles in Rome (Manson 1978; Wilhelm 1992). Some of the frescoes from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (40–30), for example, have recently been reinterpreted in such a light (M. Fuchs 1998). While some of these predictions favored Rome, one Sibylline prophecy that survives in fragments predicted that a ruler would arise in Asia who would first humble and then resurrect Rome (Tarn 1932; A. Alföldi 1973).

Perhaps the best-known prediction that a Golden Age would recur is Vergil's fourth *Eclogue*, probably published between 40 and 35 (Bowersock 1971; Clausen 1972). It announces the birth of a messianic child and includes references to Apollo, Cumae (where his Cumaean sibyl dwelt), the Parcae (Fates), and Lucina as birth goddess. Recent scholarship has been almost unanimous in connecting the poem with either a son of Asinius Gallus (son of Asinius Pollio, who is mentioned in the poem as one of the consuls in 40; Bosworth 1972) or Octavian, whom the Vergilian scholia of the fourth century CE seem to support (Servius *Ecl.* 4.11). D. A. Slater convincingly argued (1912) that the *eclogue* represents an *epithalamium*, or marriage hymn, in honor of the nuptials of Antony and Octavia, which sealed the pact of Brundisium, a treaty engineered in part by Antony's friend, Pollio (Kromayer 1894; Syme 1937, 41, n. 1). As it turned out, the much anticipated child of the union was not a boy but a girl: Antonia Major.

Such intellectual cloth could obviously be cut and stitched to fit a variety of needs. When Augustus decided to celebrate his Secular Games in 17, he clearly revived the earlier references to the Golden Age, to Apollo, and to the sun god, Sol, to whom he dedicated the Horologium's gnomon in 9/8. Augustus, however, interpreted the beginning of "his" new age positively in order to promote the idea that a new and better cycle in Rome's history was beginning under his direction as princeps.

THE ROMAN CALENDAR:
A POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS TOOL

These cosmic ideas about time had a more utilitarian counterpart in the annual cycle of the Roman calendar. According to tradition, Romulus had founded a ten-month year that began in March on the vernal equinox. Numa reformed this calendar by adding the months of January and February to create a year of 355 days, which needed an annual intercalation of extra days to keep the solar and civil years synchronized. Since the calendar kept track of the length of terms of office and provided the data for lists of days when public business could be conducted, the control of the calendar was a political as well as a religious issue.

Under the Republic, oversight of the calendar was reserved to one special group of priests, the pontifices, under the direction of the pontifex maximus (fig. 22). After Caesar became pontifex maximus in 63, he had both the right and the responsibility to revise the calendar. Assisted by the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes, Caesar reformed the calendar in 46 to create a solar year of 365¼ days (Pliny 18.211; Cassius Dio 53.26.1–3). At that time, the civic year was approximately three months behind the solar year. To correct this discrepancy, the year was restarted in 45 with 1 January fixed at ten days after the winter solstice. The year now consisted of 365 days (with an extra day every four years), and the months had the number of days they have now. (The Gregorian calendar, introduced in 1582, stipulated that the leap years would be divisible by four, except for centenary years not divisible by 400: 1700, 1800, 1900, etc.) During the final phase of the Civil Wars following Caesar's death, the calendar had gone off track again, and it remained for Augustus as pontifex maximus from 12 to make the final adjustments, which he completed in 9/8. A. Wallace-Hadrill (1987) has argued that the Augustan reform of time represents just one of several areas where the princeps exercised a new authority usurped from the senatorial class, which had traditionally provided the pontiffs.

Outside Rome other calendrical systems were in use, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean (Morgan 2000). After Octavian entered Alexandria (1 August 30), he waited eighteen days after Cleopatra's suicide (12 August) so that he could declare himself ruler on the Egyptian New Year's Day (1 Thoth = 29 August; Skeat 1953; Huzar 1988, 344). In 9/8, just after the dedication of the obelisk of the Horologium-Solarium, the province of Asia organized its calendar at the request of the Roman proconsul, Paullus Fabius Maximus, so that the new year began on 23 September, Augustus's birthday, giving "a new appearance to the cosmos" (von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1899; Ehrenberg and Jones 1967, no. 98; Laffi 1967; Sherk 1969, no. 65; cf. Scott 1931, 213–14; L. Taylor 1931, 205; Snyder 1940, 227; Weinstock 1948; Atkinson 1958).

Following a precedent established in the Hellenistic period, the fifth Roman month (Quintilis) of the old Numan year was renamed July after Julius Caesar, apparently before his death in 44 (Macrobius *Sat.* 1.12.34). Probably in 8, with his final restoration

Figure 22

of the Julian calendar, the old sixth month (Sextilis) was renamed August to honor the victory of the princeps at Actium in that month (Suetonius *Aug.* 31.2; Scott 1931, 221–27). Although there were practical political and religious reasons for Augustus's restoration of the Julian calendar, the reform also allowed Augustus to link himself with Rome's founding kings, Romulus and Numa Pompilius, who had created the earliest calendars.

Although an earlier calendar survives from Antium, dated to the early first century BCE (Degrassi 1963), the majority of surviving calendars date to the Augustan period and record festivals and events connected with members of the imperial family. The most learned of these is the *Fasti Praenestini*, the work of the antiquarian Verrius Flaccus, who was closely connected with the imperial family as tutor to Augustus's adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar. M. Beard has discussed the ways in which the Roman ritual calendar was organized around Augustus and was used to "define and delineate Roman power, Roman history and Roman identity, . . . arranging them in a meaningful sequence of time, but not a sequence defined by linear, narrative time" (1987 = 1). Ovid's *Fasti* can be seen as a poetic reflection of these official concerns (Newlands 1995).

THE HOROLOGIUM - SOLARIUM

In a period so concerned with time, the construction of a large sundial with an obelisk for its gnomon was not an anomaly, but its colossal scale required more than just a mastery of astronomical science and applied mathematics. It took huge resources, engineering skill, a trained workforce, access to the pharaonic monuments of Egypt, and a ship capable of carrying the obelisk across the open waters of the Mediterranean. A prerequisite for this project was therefore Octavian's defeat of Antony and Cleopatra and the Roman conquest of Egypt. Through this victory, Octavian gained the right to reuse Egypt's monuments for his own purposes.

Since the obelisk was the first, or among the first, of these pharaonic monuments in Rome, its erection in the Campus Martius must have provided an unparalleled public spectacle for the inhabitants of the city. Pliny tells us that the sea-going ship carrying the obelisk was just the right size for navigating the Tiber, and Augustus later put the vessel on display as an attraction at Puteolanum (Pozzuoli), an important harbor on the trade route with Egypt (36.70).

Perhaps because the Horologium had become inaccurate and needed to be reset in Vespasian's time, Pliny gives a detailed account of it (36.72–73):

The divine Augustus put it [the obelisk] in the Campus [Martius] to marvelous use: to inscribe the sun's shadow and thus the lengths of days and nights. A pavement was laid down for a distance appropriate to the height of the obelisk, so that the shadow cast at

noon on the shortest day of the year would reach its edge. Bronze strips were put into the pavement to measure the shadow day by day as it gradually became shorter and lengthened again. It is a thing worth studying, a work by the mathematician Novius Facundus. He placed on the pinnacle a gilt ball to mark the top of the shadow; otherwise it would lack definition. He is said to have understood the principle from observing the shadow cast by the human head.

The obelisk selected for the gnomon of Augustus's Horologium-Solarium was quarried by the pharaoh Psammeticus II (ruled 594–589) for erection at Heliopolis near modern Cairo; it was one of a pair brought to Rome from there, at about the same time apparently, since in 10/9 both were inscribed identically to the sun god, Sol, as part of the spoils of Egypt, which Augustus had conquered twenty years before. One obelisk was set up at the Horologium-Solarium; the other was set up at the opposite end of Rome on the spina of the Circus Maximus, thus marking geographically a northern and a southern point in the Augustan city. The inscriptions read, "Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god, imperator for the twelfth time, consul eleventh, tribune fourteenth, with Egypt given to the power of the Roman people, has dedicated this gift to the sun" (*CIL* 6.701 [Circus Maximus], 702 [gnomon]; cf. Aug. *Res Gestae* 27; Strabo 17.1.27; Pliny 36.70).

To reconstruct Augustus's device and determine how it worked, E. Buchner uses several sources (1976, 1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1988; Steinby 1993–99, 3:35–37): Pliny's description, the generic account by Vitruvius of how to construct sundials, the dimensions of the Campus Martius obelisk and early accounts of its rediscovery, the metal sphere that crowned the obelisk (now in the Capitoline Museum; Buchner 1988, no. 110), and excavations in the Campus Martius.

Buchner's limited excavations at Via di Campo Marzio 48 during the 1970s revealed a small portion of the pavement, not of the Augustan monument, but of a higher resetting of it in Vespasian's time. Into this upper pavement were reset the original bronze strips and letters that marked seasons, their zodiacal signs, and major climatic events (cf. the monumental inscription of the praetor L. Naevius Surdinus in the paving of the Roman Forum in 9: G. Alföldi 1991, 320, pl. 8). Set into the paving was a long bronze strip (the meridian, marking midday), stretching to the north from the base of the gnomon and divided at regular intervals by short transverse bronze strips (fig. 23). Since these short transverse strips are equally spaced, the length of pavement given over to each of the zodiacal signs (they come in pairs, six up the long strip as the shadow lengthens, and six down as it shortens) can be reconstructed at approximately 3.30 meters, with something like twenty-two transverse strips in each space marking out various divisions in the month, not individual days (contrast Pliny's *regulae* . . . *singulis diebus*). The shadow cast by the obelisk would pass across the meridian each day at noon, lengthening northward up the strip as the sun moved toward the winter solstice (21 December, then in Capricorn, now at the end of Sagittarius) and shortening

Figure 23

back down the strip toward the south to mark the summer solstice (21 June—the longest day, and now, as then, in Cancer; Manilius 3.625–36).

On either side of the meridian and parallel to it survive the names of zodiacal constellations in Greek, the language of science in Augustus's day; in fact, it is likely that the Horologium was copied from a Greek original (see below; Buchner 1982a, 79). Buchner's small excavations found the Greek names of four zodiacal signs preserved on the pavement flanking the meridian: *KRI[OS]* (Aries) on the west side and *PARTH[ENOS]* (Virgo) on the east, and, just south of these and divided by a long transverse strip, *TAUR[OS]* (Taurus) and *[LEŌ]N* (Leo). As the sun's shadow lengthened northward, it would pass through Leo (conventionally now 23 July–22 August) and then Virgo (23 August–22 September) toward the winter solstice three zodiacal constellations further on (through Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius to Capricorn), and as the shadow shortened it came back southward, going through Aries (21 March–19 April) and then Taurus (20 April–20 May) toward the summer solstice one zodiacal constellation further on (through Gemini to Cancer).

Two further events are marked by smaller bronze letters in the excavated pavement: *ETĒSIAI PAÚONTAI* ("the Etesian winds cease"), indicated by its own short transverse strip just beyond the long transverse strip that divides Leo from Virgo; and *THĒROUS ARKHĒ* ("the beginning of summer") at the fifteenth transverse strip in Taurus (just beyond the letter *rho*). According to the meridian, therefore, the Etesian winds should cease just inside Virgo, about 24 August, and summer should start at the fifteenth division of Taurus, about 10 May. The cessation of the Etesian winds would have been more important for a port city, since they interfere with shipping, and the dates for both these events are more appropriate for a city with a latitude farther to the south, like Alexandria. It seems likely, therefore, that the Horologium copies a model from somewhere else, perhaps Alexandria—compare Strabo (17.1.7), who in fact mentions that at the beginning of summer the Etesian winds begin to blow across Alexandria, cooling the city for the entire summer season. If they started at the beginning of summer there, they might have ceased in early September, as indicated on the Rome meridian.

During the Renaissance, excavations in the area of the obelisk revealed inscriptions naming another wind, Boreas, in one of the four corners of the pavement; seven lines probably marking parabolic arcs across the pavement (diurnal lines indicating hours of the day) to the north and south of the east-west equinoctial line; and other zodiacal signs (De Rossi 1882, 50–87 [cited in Davies 2000, 78, n. 4]; Gibbs 1976, 46–48; Buchner 1982a, 42). The transverse strip demarcating Aries/Taurus from Virgo/Leo may be part of one of these diurnal lines; it extends from the meridian to the limits of the excavated area (and probably beyond) and lies 2 degrees off the perpendicular from it.

Buchner argues that the Horologium-Solarium was deliberately designed to link several Augustan monuments in the northern Campus Martius. The most important

of these is the Ara Pacis, whose precise location and ancient orientation were determined by excavation under the later Palazzo Fiano, most recently in the 1930s. Buchner calculated that the location of the Augustan altar was fixed at the intersection of the equinoctial line of the Horologium and a circle whose radius is the longest distance from the obelisk to its shadow's point on the winter solstice. He suggests that the Ara Pacis was deliberately situated so that on 23 September, Augustus's birthday and the approximate date of the autumnal equinox, the shadow of the gnomon would trace a straight line across the pavement from west to east throughout the day to fall through the open doorway in the west façade of the Ara Pacis at sunset. If his hypothesis is correct, then the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis would represent a visual demonstration that Augustus had been conceived and born to start the new saeculum. In addition, Buchner suggested that the obelisk's slight angle toward the east allowed its northeast side to face the Ara Pacis, while its northwest side was oriented toward the Mausoleum; he also proposed that the two faces included the Ustrinum, which he believed was located immediately to the east of the Mausoleum, a location that now seems problematic (see chapter 3).

How well do these calculations work? The initial scholarly reception of Buchner's reconstructions was wildly enthusiastic (Gros 1984, 374–76; Wallace-Hadrill 1985, 246–47). Subsequent reassessments have suggested that more caution is merited. Since the physicist M. Schütz (1990) has been the severest and most detailed critic of Buchner, it is worth considering his objections in detail (cf. Hübner 1983; counterarguments include Beck 1994; Buchner 1996b). Schütz identifies six areas where he thinks Buchner has erred: the ancient height of the gnomon, the existence of a complete sundial on the pavement, Augustus's equinoctial birthday and its association with Capricorn, the programmatic relationship of the Horologium-Solarium and the Ara Pacis, and the length of the shadow cast by the obelisk.

1. The height of the gnomon. Schütz has pointed out correctly that we do not know precisely where the obelisk stood in antiquity with respect to the Augustan pavement or how tall it was. When its fallen pieces were rediscovered and moved in the eighteenth century, only a general record was made, and the missing portions of the obelisk have since been restored by cannibalizing the red granite memorial column of Marcus Aurelius (cf. chapter 3). Thus Buchner has had to estimate the original height of the obelisk by working backward from the preserved (Flavian) surface of the dial, which is at a higher elevation than that of Augustus's time.

2. The dial on the pavement. Schütz has also questioned Buchner's reconstruction of a full grid system that would mark out the individual days and hours on the paved surface of the dial. He argues instead that the Horologium-Solarium consisted only of the meridian line marking the sun's path through the zodiac and the length of the seasons; such a meridian could have been used to help calibrate the civil, as opposed to the solar, year in conjunction with Augustus's correction of the Julian calendar.

The excavated remains make it clear that, at the very least, the Horologium-Solarium contained a meridian line that marked the position of the sun each day at noon and told which zodiacal constellation the sun was supposed to be in. Such meridian lines are common in post-antique times, and the modern visitor to Rome can see two that are connected to obelisks, one set up in Piazza S. Pietro in the Vatican using Caligula's obelisk from his circus and the other set up in Piazza Montecitorio (figs. 16–17) using Augustus's original gnomon from the Horologium-Solarium. The excavations also produced some evidence that lines marked the sun's parabolic course throughout the day at critical points of the year.

It is possible, too, that the pavement also carried a complete outside grid marking the western and eastern limits of the sun's shadow from dawn to dusk throughout the year. The evidence of surviving smaller planar Roman sundials, Pliny's description, and Renaissance excavations all seem to indicate that the Horologium-Solarium was not simply a meridian device, but a sundial that marked the hours of the day as they shortened or lengthened during the course of the year (Barton 1995, 45–47). In the meantime R. Beck has pointed out (1994, 104–5) that nothing excavated so far in the Campus Martius disproves Buchner's idea that there was a full grid laid out on the pavement, and furthermore the fact that the transverse strip that divides Aries/Taurus from Virgo/Leo runs at a slight angle from the meridian line up to the edge of the excavated area actually supports the existence of at least a partial grid.

3. The birthday of Augustus. Schütz reminds us too that some uncertainty surrounds the actual date of Augustus's birth. In his birth year of 63, the older Republican calendar was in effect, with all of its inaccuracies. For us the autumnal equinox occurs on 21 September; for the Romans, at some time in the second half of the first century, it was perhaps 22 September. The difference of a few days on either side of the actual equinox can be considered an acceptable margin of error for a period when the calendar was undergoing adjustment.

4. Capricorn. Because a birthday in late September is governed by Libra, Schütz attempts to interpret Suetonius's statement that Augustus was born in Capricorn by arguing that his birth star was the moon, not the sun, in Libra, and that this was what mattered to the ancients. In that case, Augustus's birthday could be said to have coincided with Capricorn. A simpler explanation, however, is that Capricorn stands for Augustus's conception, and that Suetonius is using a popular expression that conflates conception and birth to stand for the development of the human fetus.

5. The relationship of the obelisk to the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis. A number of studies have made it clear that the Roman architects, like their Hellenistic predecessors, relied heavily on plans, as recent studies of the Didymaeum, the Pantheon, and the imperial fora suggest (Haselberger 1985, 1994; Wightman 1997). But Schütz is right that the relationship among the Augustan monuments in the northern Campus Martius may not have been extraordinarily precise. Nevertheless, the general accuracy of Buchner's hypothesis about the placement of the Ara Pacis relative

to the Horologium-Solarium is demonstrable. Using extant horologia, we can extend the north-south meridian line of the Horologium (assuming that the Flavian refurbishment closely follows the layout of a lower Augustan pavement), and bisect it in the middle to compute the east-west line that the shadow of the gnomon traced on the equinoxes. This shadow intersects the doorway in the west end of the Ara Pacis, the original position of which is known from excavation.

More problematic is Buchner's reconstruction of a mathematical diagram that connects the obelisk, the Mausoleum, the Ustrinum, and the Ara Pacis in a programmatic relationship. His diagram requires a precise but hypothetical angling of the base of the obelisk with respect to the Mausoleum and Ara Pacis in order to create a right angle between the two. Even if a precise mathematical plan cannot be proved, surely Roman viewers would have associated the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis (because of their physical proximity) and the Mausoleum (because the gnomon echoes in material, color, and shape the pair of obelisks in front of the Mausoleum). And since Augustus built them all, everyone would have recognized that the three monuments were architectural embodiments of his power.

6. The shadow cast by the obelisk. Buchner calculated the height of the gnomon as 29.5 meters on its base; Schütz demonstrates that, if its shadow is to reach into the Ara Pacis (Favro 1996, 130, 264), it must be one meter higher. It probably is impossible to be certain about the obelisk's height, since the report of the eighteenth-century excavations does not relay the data necessary to make that calculation, and, in any case, Schütz apparently miscounted the number of day lines at the end of Aries and the beginning of Virgo, which led him into a miscalculation about the reconstructed height of the gnomon (Schütz 1990, 432–33; Buchner 1982a, pl. 138; 1996b, 36). But all this is splitting hairs: Roman observers would have seen the shadow cast by the obelisk moving over the pavement of the sundial over the course of the day, to point toward the monument just before sunset, even if the tip of the shadow did not actually touch the Ara Pacis or fall through its western doorway. As Beck states (1994, 105), "the general effect of the westering sun projecting its shadow towards the Ara Pacis . . . will have conveyed the ideological message that Buchner postulates."

For the present, therefore, we can accept Buchner's basic reconstruction of the Horologium-Solarium as a vast planar sundial, constructed in such a manner as to create a programmatic relationship between itself and the Ara Pacis. We can also accept that the two monuments were aligned so that on Augustus's approximate birthday, the shadow of the gnomon would point toward the Altar of Peace. The presence in the northern Campus of three red granite obelisks creates a further visual connection between the Horologium-Solarium and the Mausoleum.

To Buchner's alignment we can add another. A line extended from the Mausoleum through the obelisk intersects the site of Augustus's Ustrinum, if Jolivet's proposal is correct in locating it on Montecitorio, a short distance to the south of the Horologium.

Table 4 Augustan obelisks

	<i>Present location</i>	<i>Early imperial location</i>	<i>Original location</i>	<i>Date created</i>	<i>Date moved</i>	<i>Height (m)</i>
1	Rome, Vatican	1. Alexandria? 2. Vatican	Alexandria?	30–29	30–29 BCE 37–41 CE	25.36
2	New York	Alexandria, Caesareum	Heliopolis	15th c	13/12 BCE	20.87
3	London	Alexandria, Caesareum	Heliopolis	15th c	13/12	21.20
4	?	Alexandria, Forum (Julian?)	Alexandria, Arsinoeum	3rd c	12	?
5	Rome, Montecitorio	Horologium	Heliopolis	6th c	10/9	21.79
6	Rome, Piazza del Popolo	Circus Maximus	Heliopolis	13th c	10/9	21.79
7	Rome, S. Maria Maggiore	Mausoleum Augusti	?	1st c	by 14 CE	14.75
8	Rome, Quirinal	Mausoleum Augusti	?	1st c	by 14 CE	14.65

Such a line connecting the three structures would be nearly parallel to the route of the Via Flaminia. If this entire alignment is correct, then visitors to the northern Campus would see the Ustrinum and Mausoleum balanced, as it were, at the southern and northern ends of a long line of sight that was intersected by the alignment of the Horologium-Solarium and the Ara Pacis. The obelisk in effect serves as the fulcrum, linking all the Augustan monuments in this area.

THE OBELISKS OF AUGUSTUS

Any tall, vertical object could have served as the gnomon for the Horologium-Solarium, but Augustus chose to import an Egyptian red granite obelisk for the purpose. This reuse of a monument of pharaonic manufacture is part of a deliberate plan on his part that seems to have evolved over two decades (table 4). The obelisk of the Horologium-Solarium (no. 5) was one of eight obelisks at Rome and Alexandria moved by Augustus in the course of his career—a record unmatched by any later princeps or pope. Its twin at the Circus Maximus (no. 6), dedicated in the same year and thus probably brought to Rome at the same time (10/9), has already been mentioned; it stands today in the Piazza del Popolo (fig. 24).

Figure 24

The earliest Augustan obelisk (no. 1), now in the Vatican piazza, is also the most problematic. Traces of an inscription that was later removed (Magi 1963a, 1963b; Gordon 1983, 110–11, no. 35) indicate that it was dedicated on Octavian's order ("son of the divine Caesar") at the "Julian Forum" in 30/29 by Cornelius Gallus, Octavian's *praefectus fabrum* and first prefect of Egypt (Dobson 1965; Bennet 1971; Welch 1995). The history of the obelisk has been the subject of much debate, mostly focusing on identifying the location of the "Julian Forum." Three places in Egypt (Alexandria, Nikopolis, and Octavian's army camp) as well as sites in Rome have all been proposed. Although none has won general acceptance (Hartmann 1965; Bömer 1966; Volkmann 1967; Salvaterra 1987), a location near the Caesareum in Alexandria is attractive (see below; cf. Gjerstad 1944; Sjöquist 1954; Hastrup 1962; Fishwick 1987; G. Alföldi 1990).

The later inscription indicates that it was reinscribed in the Julio-Claudian period to Tiberius and to the "divine Augustus Caesar son of the divine Julius"; it was later moved to Rome by Caligula, who installed it on the spina of the Vatican Circus (*CIL* 6.882; Pliny 36.70, 74; Dessau 1892–1916, 115; Iverson 1965). Pliny also remarks that the obelisk broke during its removal, but there is no sign of a break.

Augustus's next five obelisks were all moved within the space of a few years, ca. 13/12–10/9, presumably because his engineers had perfected the technology. The shortest obelisks (nos. 7, 8), those that flanked the entrance to his Mausoleum, were in place by 14 CE, but may have been moved there much earlier.

Beginning the spate of obelisk moving in 13, shortly before the construction of the Horologium-Solarium, Augustus had a pair of obelisks (nos. 2, 3) transported from

Heliopolis to Alexandria and installed in front of the Caesareum, a center of the imperial cult facing the harbor (Pliny 36.69; Fraser 1972, 1:24–25; Tuchelt 1981; Fishwick 1984, 1987). The Caesareum may have been begun by Cleopatra for Julius Caesar as early as 47 (Malalas 217.12, cited by Weinstock 1971, 297 n. 8; Cassius Dio 51.15.5; Pliny 36.69; cf. G. Alföldi 1990). With the addition of obelisks and some formalized connection with the Forum Julium, mentioned in Gallus's inscription, it seems to have been complete by 30, since Antony's son Antyllus took refuge there at the foot of a statue of Caesar when Octavian entered Alexandria (his life was not spared). Eventually, the complex came to include the worship of Augustus as well as Caesar, and by ca. 40 CE Philo could describe it as one of the most sumptuous buildings in the city (*Leg.* 22.151, here abbreviated): "the Sebasteum, a temple to Caesar 'on shipboard' [*epibaterios*], situated on a height facing the harbors, filled with paintings and statues in silver and gold, embellished with porticoes, libraries, groves, gates, and open courts—the whole a hope of safety to the sailor."

The Caesareum has never been fully excavated, but the two obelisks that were added to it survived antiquity and are now in New York (no. 2) and London (no. 3); their corners rested on bronze crabs inscribed in Latin and Greek: "Eighteenth year of Caesar, Barbarus the prefect of Egypt, erected these; Pontius was the engineer" (*OGIS* 656; *IGRR* 1.1072). If the crabs represented the zodiacal midsummer sign of Cancer, they probably referred not only to the beginning of the annual inundation of the Nile (Manilius 3.625–28 and 634–37, 4.751–52) but also to Julius Caesar's birth on 13 July 100 (later celebrated on the twelfth, probably after Augustus restored the Julian calendar, moving his birthday back a day).

A third obelisk (no. 4) in Alexandria was also moved under Augustus, most likely at the same time (Pliny 36.67–69; Fraser 1972, 2:73–74 n. 169; Bureth 1988). This third obelisk was originally erected by Ptolemy Philadelphos (308–246) in the sanctuary dedicated to Arsinoe II, his sister and wife. Probably in 12, it was moved to the (Julian?) "forum" by the prefect of Egypt at the time, M. Magnus Maximus (also prefect in 4–2), because it was obstructing the dockyards. Magnus also removed the pyramidion (the pyramidal top), intending to add a gilded pinnacle; the obelisk's present whereabouts is unknown.

The pair of obelisks intended for the Horologium-Solarium in the Campus Martius and the spina of the Circus Maximus (nos. 5, 6) evidently were moved soon after the pair for the Caesareum at Alexandria. Finally, as discussed in chapter 3, the two small obelisks for the Mausoleum (nos. 7, 8) were probably brought to Rome in the Augustan period as well (figs. 12–13).

Augustus was credited with planning to move a ninth obelisk, but refrained from doing so because it was already consecrated to the sun god (Ammianus Marcellinus 120); it actually was brought to Rome in the fourth century CE, when it was also erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus and then later moved to the Lateran, where it stands today (C. Nicholson and O. Nicholson 1989).

THE CONSTRUCTION DATE OF THE
HOROLOGIUM-SOLARIUM

This brief sketch of the history of the Augustan obelisks is important because it contributes to our understanding of when and how the Horologium-Solarium was planned and built. Although several different dates have been proposed for the inception of plans for the Horologium-Solarium and the Ara Pacis, Vitruvius's instructions for calculating the size and configuration of a sundial show that knowledge of the exact height of the gnomon (in this case the obelisk on its supporting base) was required before the sundial in the pavement could be laid out. It stands to reason that the location of the Ara Pacis must have been calculated at the same time the sundial was, if there really was a programmatic connection between the two.

Since the Horologium obelisk was dedicated in 10/9 and the Ara Pacis was founded in 13 and dedicated in 9, the construction of the Horologium must have been planned also by 13 or 12. But plans for the two monuments could have developed even earlier. If so, the planners of the Horologium must have been provided adequate time to move and set up the obelisk before laying out the meridian and whatever grid was associated with it, including the equinoctial line, before the foundations for the Ara Pacis were laid.

It would take at least a couple of years to take down the obelisk at Heliopolis, to transport it to the coast and across the Mediterranean to Rome, to haul it up the Tiber to its location in the Campus Martius (probably up the Tiber to the Forum Boarium and then by land to the Campus), and finally to set it up (Davies 2000, 76 gives the entire process a mere year, 27 June 10 to 27 June 9). Then the Horologium grid would have to be laid before the site of the Ara Pacis could be determined and the foundations constructed in 13 (this is the date when Bowersock has the entire plan conceived; see 1990, 384). Since we know that Augustus dedicated another pair of obelisks at Alexandria in 13/12, I suggest that the decision to move all four obelisks from Heliopolis (nos. 2, 3, 5, 6) was made by the princeps years earlier. A good date would be 17, the time of the Secular Games, and before he left Rome for his extended stay in Gaul and Spain (16–13).

According to this hypothesis, we should view the transport of the first pair of obelisks to Alexandria and their erection in front of the Caesareum as a “dry run” for the larger and far more difficult project of shipping another pair over the open waters of the Mediterranean to Italy for erection in Rome. A decision made in 17 to bring over the obelisks and construct the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis makes the Secular Games of that year not—as formerly believed—an expiatory rite directed to the infernal gods, but a symbolic affirmation of Augustus's plan for the political, social, and moral renewal of the city and the empire (Beard et al. 1988, 139–44 no. 5.7; Moretti 1982–84). What better time for planning new building projects in the Campus Martius and the Circus Maximus that would transform the southern and northern sides of Rome?

MEANING AND MEASURE

Although the Egyptian obelisk at the Horologium-Solarium served a practical purpose as a pointer, the object itself was symbolically charged, and its meaning can be examined through a number of conceptual lenses. Obelisks served as statements of political power, as an expression of a ruler's ability to rearrange the past, and as victory monuments and symbols of elite self-promotion, while their transport and erection employed hundreds of people and provided a public spectacle. Augustus's use of the obelisk at the Horologium-Solarium not only made a statement about his ability to control time and space, but also served as a symbol of solar cult, implied a claim to divinity, and suggested Rome's role as a cosmological center.

From start to finish, the quarrying, transport, and erection of monolithic obelisks involved a tremendous investment of time and human labor that could be marshaled only by autocratic rulers with sophisticated administrations. In the red granite quarries at Aswan in southern Egypt, shafts that weighed up to 200 tons had to be hammered free of the surrounding matrix using stone and metal tools, loaded on ships, floated down the Nile to their intended locations, and erected with great care—compare the creation of Stonehenge in the third millennium (Richards and Whitby 1997). In the fifteenth century, Queen Hatshepsut boasted on the walls of her temple at Deir el-Bahri that she had a pair of obelisks quarried and erected in a remarkably short time, seven months, and had their tips covered with electrum to reflect the sun's rays (Arnold 2003, 165).

While the pharaonic obelisks were primarily religious symbols, by the Hellenistic period, obelisks—and the shadows they cast—also served as territorial markers as well. In Callimachus's *Lock of Berenike*, the lock speaks of Mount Athos in northern Greece as the "spit" (*boupóros*) or obelisk of the queen's mother, Arsinoe II (Huxley 1980; Koenen 1993, 98–101), an oblique reference to her earlier marriage (300/299) to Lysimachus of Macedonia before she married her brother, Ptolemy II (ca. 275). Similarly, Augustus's obelisks at the Caesareum in Alexandria proclaimed his title to Egypt.

Augustus's obelisks in Rome represented a different display of power. As outlined in chapter 1, during the Republic aristocratic families had competed with one another through the construction or repair of temples and public buildings, using the spoils gained from military conquests. Augustus had gradually curtailed these displays of *publica magnificentia* by restricting the triumphal celebration to members of the imperial family. After his triple triumph in 29, the princeps himself celebrated no more triumphs, and Balbus's triumph of 19 was the last one celebrated by an individual outside the imperial family. Augustus's policy was a deliberate curtailment of privilege. He even took over the repair and rebuilding of public structures in Rome: in 28, he boasted that he had restored more than eighty buildings within the city (*Res Gestae* 20).

By moving obelisks into Rome, however, Augustus was not only introducing large-scale architectural monuments of a foreign culture into Rome for the first time; he was

also deliberately elevating himself above and beyond the conventional arena of competition among the great senatorial families. Since Egypt was now his personal province and possession, no member of any senatorial family could ever hope to compete with him on this level of display, even if they had been able to muster the finances and manpower to do so.

Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of spectacle in ancient art and life. The length and tremendous weight of the obelisks made moving them a slow and dangerous project, and the task of erecting them a means both of displaying technological prowess and providing a good show. Post-antique descriptions of moving obelisks allow us to envision the impact of these monuments on the public of Augustus's day. In the fourth century CE, Ammianus Marcellinus described the several stages of transport of the Constantinian obelisk from Thebes to Alexandria to Rome, and then its erection in the Circus Maximus (17.4.13–15). When Domenico Fontana moved the Vatican obelisk just 200 yards from the site of Caligula's circus to the piazza in front of St. Peter's, thousands of people watched, and the pope ordered complete silence as the shaft was re-erected (Fontana 1590/1978). Huge media attention was devoted to the tortuously slow transport of one of the Caesareum obelisks from its arrival at the port of New York on 20 July 1880 through the streets of Manhattan to its resting place in Central Park on 5 January 1881—a rate of 97 feet per day (D'Alton 1993).

In Augustus's time, we can only imagine the crowds that watched as his obelisks were brought up the Tiber on barges, unloaded (probably at the Forum Boarium, since Tiber Island and the ford there would prohibit the barge from continuing upriver), dragged through the cramped and narrow streets of the city, and raised into position. To commemorate the spectacle, the ship that transported one of the obelisks from Egypt to Italy was preserved at Pozzuoli, the western port of the Roman fleet. Since the Bay of Naples was a popular retreat for the well-to-do, we can also imagine curious residents visiting the ship.

As a cultural monument, the obelisk, like the pyramid, defines pharaonic Egypt; its successors—Ptolemaic Egypt, Rome, and Byzantium—appropriated this icon, moving many of them to outfit first Alexandria, then Rome, and finally Constantinople as the capital of Mediterranean civilization shifted. When the Greek Ptolemies gained control of Egypt in the late fourth century, they moved some of the obelisks erected by their pharaonic predecessors to the site of their new capital at Alexandria in order to establish their legitimacy by laying claim to Egypt's past. But the Ptolemies at Alexandria reused many pharaonic architectural monuments on a large scale. In fact, recent excavations have confirmed that, despite its regular Hippodamian grid plan and wide streets, the Ptolemaic city was far more Egyptian in its appearance than had been suspected, with multiple obelisks, reused columns, rows of sphinxes, and colossal statues of the Greek Ptolemies in traditional pharaonic garb, mostly executed in colored hard stones native to the country (Empereur 1996, 1998; La Riche 1996). Many of these apparently stood at the base of the Pharos, greeting those who entered the harbor.

Augustus's manipulation of obelisks in Rome and Alexandria also suggests that he intended to draw a comparison between the two cities—to Rome's advantage, of course. A contrast between Rome and Alexandria was an essential point in the propaganda against Antony and Cleopatra, and from the late Republic onward, Roman authors often voiced the fear that Alexandria or another city might supplant Rome. So much has been written in the last decade about the physical transformation of Rome under the early principate that we tend to forget that at this time Alexandria was still the largest and most impressive city in the Mediterranean, and heir to a far richer history, Greek and Egyptian, than Rome.

The Romans also recognized the obelisks as symbols of rule over the inhabitable world. Because the obelisks of the Horologium-Solarium and the Circus Maximus are inscribed in Latin to Sol as spoils of Egypt ("with Egypt given to the power of the Roman people"), they unquestionably served as victory monuments (Pliny 36.71; L. Richardson 1992, 272–73). The obelisk originally erected in Heliopolis by Psammetichus II (594–89), the one destined for the Circus Maximus and now in the Piazza del Popolo, also carries an Egyptian inscription, which reads, according to a Greek translation quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.18–23): "To Ra who has given Ramses the entire world to rule."

The bronze globe surmounting the Horologium obelisk was also a sign of world rule (Vogt 1929; Ackermann and Gisler 1981–97, 7:16–17; Arnaud 1984); it is depicted on the column base of Antoninus and Faustina (fig. 4) and may be the one preserved in the Capitoline Museum. As a symbol, the globe has a long history in the Greco-Roman world. A statue of Demetrios Poliorcetes showed him standing on the globe of the inhabitable world (*oikouménēs*; Athenaeus 12.536a), and a statue of Caesar on the Capitoline was also placed on a bronze *oikouménē* with an inscription that called him a demigod (*hemítheos*; Cassius Dio 43.14.6, 21.2). On the "Augustus" cup from Boscoreale, the princeps holds a globe in his outstretched right hand; Venus advances to crown it with a statuette representing Victory. The Grand Camée de France, generally held to be of Julio-Claudian date, depicts the figure of Aion (Eternity) holding the globe and supporting the deified Augustus, wearing a radiate crown, as they rise toward the heavens (Jucker 1976; Megow 1987, no. A85; D. Kleiner 1992, 149–52; cf. Marlowe 2002). The globe atop the Horologium obelisk imitated the globe of the sun as it moves through the zodiac in the sky and, in shadow, on the pavement. Thus, Augustus, who erected the obelisk with its crowning ornament, exercised control over it and, through it, the cosmos.

Augustus's relationship to the sun is even more overt. To the pharaohs, the obelisk was a religious symbol capturing the rays of sunlight and monumentalizing them (Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.7). Augustus appropriated this symbolism, too, by inscribing his gnomon and the Circus Maximus obelisks to Sol, as Constantine did his. Sol was equated with Helios-Apollo, and was also the god of the new saeculum (Vergil *Ecl.* 4.4–10, ending with: "Your own Apollo now reigns!"; Galinsky 1967; cf. Horace

Carm. 4.5.5–8, invoking Augustus’s return to Rome in 13 as the coming of the sun). After Actium, on the site where his tent had been pitched, Octavian erected a hypaethral temple to Apollo, appropriate also as a temple to Sol (Cassius Dio 51.1.3; cf. Vitruvius 1.2.5). And of course, Augustus’s patron divinity was Apollo (see below).

The obelisks can also be considered manifestations of a tradition of solar cult that had a long history in the eastern Mediterranean. Egyptian pharaohs had erected obelisks to promote the fiction that they were sons of the sun god, Amun-Ra. After death, the pharaoh was subsumed into his “father,” and they traveled together through the sky in a sun boat on a repeating, daily cycle. Pliny’s section on obelisks in the *Natural History* (36.64) includes their Egyptian use as symbols of solar cult and the importance of red granite as a material because it was the color of the sun. Kinship with Apollo or the sun was claimed by Hellenistic dynasts (Kyrieleis 1973; Bunge 1975; Bearzot 1984; La Rocca 1994b) and by individual Romans, like Brutus, “the Sun of Asia” (Horace *Sat.* 1.7.24).

AUGUSTUS AND APOLLO

Ancient sources repeatedly connected Augustus with Apollo, and thus with the Hellenistic tradition of solar kingship. Many of these have been well rehearsed elsewhere and thus can be summarized briefly here (e.g., Déonna 1920–21; Matz 1952, 718–63; Gagé 1955, 1981; Galinsky 1967). By the beginning of the Hellenistic period, if not earlier, Amun-Ra was equated with the Greek sun gods Helios-Sol and Apollo; compare a south Italian vase that shows Helios wearing a radiate crown and driving a quadriga on the deck of a ship, much as Amun-Ra traveled on a sun boat (Otto 1990).

The popular belief that Apollo was the father of Augustus (Cassius Dio 45.1.2; Lambrechts 1956; Becher 1965) belongs to a long tradition of miraculous births (Norden 1924). According to one story, the god in the form of a snake had impregnated his mother, Atia, while she slept in his temple (Suetonius *Aug.* 94.4). The Temple of Apollo Palatinus concentrated several such references in one place: a statue of the sun god in his chariot above the temple (Propertius 2.31.11; Pliny 36.13; cf. Jacquemin and La Roche 1986), an arch in front of it that celebrated both Octavius and Apollo as fathers of Augustus (Pliny 36.36; L. Richardson 1992, 28; F. Kleiner 1988, 347–51; Steinby 1993–99, 1:102), and a statue of Apollo with the features of the princeps (Servius *Ecl.* 4.10). The aniconic baetyl of Apollo Agyieus (“of the ways”) appears several times in the decoration of both the temple and the house of Augustus (Carettoni 1973, figs. 15, 19; Simon 1986a, 5, col. pl. 6, 182 col. fig. 28; J. Reeder 1989; Fehrentz 1991). At a dinner party early in his career, Octavian scandalously dressed up as Apollo (Suetonius *Aug.* 70.1–2). And after his death Augustus was represented on coins and cameos wearing the radiate crown (Sydenham 1917; Sutherland 1941; Weinstock 1971, 384; Zwierlein-Diehl 1980; Zanker 1988, 234, 235 fig. 184).

THE ITALIC CONNECTION

There is an Italian connection with Sol as well. Sol Indiges (Native Sol) was originally a Sabine god (Varro *Ling.* 5.68) later worshipped at Rome; he had a sacred grove at Lavinium (Pliny 3.56; Hornblower and Spawforth 2003, 1420–21). In a tradition that goes back to Hesiod's *Theogony* (1011–16), Sol-Helios was also considered to be the ancestor of the Latin race (Pontrandolfo and Mugione 1999) through his daughter Circe, who bore two sons to Odysseus: Agrius and Latinus. At Laurentum, the Trojans established two altars to Helios when they landed in Italy (Cassius Dio 1.55.2). Varro also equates the Sabine Sol with Apollo. Augustus's dedication of the obelisk at the Horologium-Solarium therefore accommodated both Italian and Greco-Egyptian traditions.

Augustus's second obelisk—the one placed on the spina of the Circus Maximus—was also dedicated to Sol (Humphrey 1986, 269–72). According to Tertullian (*De spect.* 8), the “circus” was dedicated to the sun because it had been created by Circe, the daughter of Helios; she organized the first spectacle there as a tribute to him, and the word “circus” was thought to derive from her name. A venerable temple to the sun was located somewhere within the circus, probably in the bank of seating on the south side of the racecourse (L. Richardson 1992, 364–65).

Although Sol, Helios, and Apollo were originally independent gods, it seems clear that by the early imperial period they were conflated (Horace *Carm. saec.* 9; Fontenrose 1939, 1940; Boyancé 1965; Galinsky 1967): this syncretism is particularly apparent in the combination of images at the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. Among the motifs on the shield of Aeneas, Vergil imagines the victorious Augustus as ruler of the *oikouménē* after Actium, seated on the threshold of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (*Aen.* 8.720–23):

He himself, seated on the white threshold of shining Phoebus,
notes the gifts of the nations, fit for the proud
doors. Defeated nations pass by in a long file
as different in language as in dress and armor.

VIEWER AND MONUMENT: THE PARADOX OF SIGHT

The colossal scale of the Horologium-Solarium turned around the conventional stance of viewer and small sundial; instead, it reduced the human spectator to insignificance. It was intended to do so, as all obelisks are, not only those that function as timekeepers (in the piazza of St. Peter's, on Montecitorio) but also those in the Mall in Washington, D.C., and in Foro Italico in Rome. In each case, the spectator seems to be reduced in size, like a child, and in power, like the subject of a powerful state.

A sundial also tells time at a speed that is almost imperceptibly slow. Thus neither the size nor the speed of the mechanism is geared to human understanding. The device is a machine with no moving parts. The paved surface and the shaft of the obelisk appear fixed, immutable, in contrast to the shadow of the sun, which travels inexorably. By its height, color, and upward thrust the obelisk commands attention, but one must look away from it in order to grasp the message that its shadow casts on the pavement. Since the shadow it casts contravenes our expectations (in the west at sunrise and in the east at sunset), reading time on the pavement is like looking into a mirror and seeing a reversed reflection (Beck 1994, 111–12). I am reminded of Plato's cave, in which we sit, our backs to the entrance and daylight beyond, watching shadows of reality on the wall. Augustus's Horologium-Solarium literally works on that supra-intelligent and cosmic scale.

CONCLUSION

The technology of the sundial was not new, but Augustus's exploitation of it was. Located well outside the commercial and the old political centers of the city, this was not a practical machine, but rather a political device that captured annual and cyclical time, cosmic time, more readily than it told the hours of the day. The heavens seem more obedient to Augustus's machine than does the daily grind. Cicero made the same observation about Julius Caesar's calendar: the constellations now rise by decree (Plutarch *Caes.* 59). Thus, the obelisk serves a variety of functions: as a political statement of immense power, symbol of world rule, victory monument, religious object, and claim to divinity. The message of the Horologium-Solarium emphasizes time and the cosmos, and thus has a heterotopic aspect that reminds us of mortality, death, and immortality.

As a machine that ties the sun to time, the monument is thus a symbol of the restoration of cosmic order, paralleling Augustus's political "restoration" of the Republic; moreover, in his role as pontifex maximus, it was his religious responsibility to keep the civil calendar synchronized with the seasons. Mere mortals make jots with a pen on paper; Augustus writes with an obelisk on a vast pavement of marble.

Gateway to History

The Ara Pacis Augustae

My song has led us to the Altar of Peace:
Come, Peace, be gentle over all the world.
You'll be a greater glory to our leaders than war.

—Ovid *Fasti* 1.709, 712, 714

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Historical Context

Shortly after the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 and the adoption of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Augustus and Agrippa both left Rome for an extended period. Between 16 and 13, the princeps was occupied in settling affairs in the western provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Germany, assisted by Livia's son, Drusus Major, while Agrippa was on a political mission in the Roman East (Cassius Dio 54.18.2; 54.19.2, 6; 58.18.1; E. Ramage 1998, 437). In the summer of 13, Augustus returned to Rome, probably followed by Agrippa a short time later.

The succeeding events of 13 were highly orchestrated, perhaps because Augustus was reaching the climacteric age of fifty (Cassius Dio 51.19.2–3; Weinstock 1971, 209–10; König 1972). In June, he completed ten years of tribunician power, and Agrippa five; the latter was also due for the renewal of his proconsular power (Cassius Dio 54.28.1). The two consuls of the year, Tiberius and P. Quinctilius Varus, were both married to daughters of Agrippa (Cassius Dio 54.25.1; Koenen 1970), and the urban praetor was Iullus Antonius, Antony's youngest surviving son, who had been raised by Octavia and treated as a stepson by Augustus (Syme 1986, 143–44). The same Iullus was also in charge of the games offered in the Circus Maximus for Augustus's birthday, and he hosted the banquet on the Capitoline for the occasion (Cassius Dio 54.26.2). Horace anticipated the return of the princeps to the city in his newly published fourth book

of odes (e.g., *Carm.* 4.2; J. Benario 1960; Putnam 1986). Fulfilling a vow for Augustus's safe return, Tiberius sponsored games (Cassius Dio 54.27.1). Two of Rome's three permanent theaters were dedicated in this year, that of Marcellus and that of Balbus (Cassius Dio 54.25.2, 26.1). Marcellus's theater commemorated Augustus's son-in-law, who had died one decade earlier; its completion was celebrated with a festival that included circus games and a performance of the *lusus Troiae*, in which Gaius Caesar took part. Balbus, the last nonimperial triumphator (19), was criticized for trying to connect the return of Augustus in 13 with the dedication of his own theater, a plan foiled by nature when the Tiber flooded the southern Campus Martius for several days (Cassius Dio 54.25.2). Finally, before the end of the year, Augustus completed a revision of the Senate's membership.

Augustus's return was celebrated by the founding (*constitutio*) of the Ara Pacis Augustae on the fourth of July. Several Augustan calendars record the ceremony (*CIL* 2.244, 248; 6.2028b, 32347a; cf. Scheid and Broise 1980), as well as its completion (*dedicatio*) some three and a half years later on 30 January 9, Livia's fiftieth birthday (*CIL* 1², 212, 229, 232; Ovid *Fasti* 1.709–22; Welin 1939; Barrett 1999).

The establishment of the altar fell in the early part of a month filled with important events. The day after the founding of the Ara Pacis was the anniversary of the apotheosis of Romulus (Cicero *Rep.* 1.25), followed by the major festival of Apollo (*ludi Apollinares*), 6–13 July, and then the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, 20–30 July, to commemorate the appearance of Caesar's comet in 44. Julius Caesar himself had been born on the thirteenth of the month, later moved back a day. Another Gaius Julius Caesar, the adopted son of Augustus, may have been born late in July of 20; his birthday was celebrated publicly as well (Cassius Dio 54.8.5)—the first prince of the imperial family to be so honored from childhood (Ganzert 1984, 181; cf. Pollini 1987, 1 n. 1).

In *Res Gestae* 13, the princeps records the official version of his return: "On my return to Rome from Spain and Gaul, in the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, with affairs successfully carried out in those provinces, the Senate in honor of my return decreed that an altar to Augustan Peace should be consecrated in the Campus Martius, where it ordered magistrates, priests, and the Vestal Virgins to perform an annual sacrifice."

Scholars have usually assumed that the Senate's decree and the inauguration date are the same, though the vote for the altar and the ceremony performed for its founding in the Field of Mars must have been separate events (cf. Brunt 1984). Cassius Dio, however, records a significantly different account (54.25.4): in honor of Augustus's return, the Senate proposed to erect a small altar inside the Curia Julia in the Forum Romanum, but the princeps rejected this proposal. Augustus had even avoided an official welcome back to Rome by entering the city at night, and only on the following day did he make the triumphal gesture of offering his laurels to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill before resuming his regular activities (*Res Gestae* 1.4).

Although Cassius Dio was writing nearly two centuries after the event, his account

sounds more plausible (Augustus had avoided public ceremonies on his earlier returns to Rome) than Augustus's simple account in the *Res Gestae*. Clearly he was capable of refashioning events to suit his own purposes. Moreover, the foundation of the altar just before the anniversary of Romulus's deification, the *ludi Apollinares*, and Caesar's birthday seems deliberate. Augustus, then, probably substituted his own plan for the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius for the Senate's proposed altar. The Ara Pacis, after all, was erected on his own property, not in a public area of Rome—property outside the city that he had already started developing. While the Ara Fortunae Reducis of 19 was a simple, small rectangular altar of Republican type (Sutherland 1984, coins nos. 55, 56a; Platner and Ashby 1929, 218; Torelli 1982, 28–31; L. Richardson 1992, 157; Steinby 1993–99, 2:275), the Ara Pacis represents a completely new design, one of Augustus's own, apparently, for it is not depicted on state coins.

The location of the Ara Pacis marks the point one mile north of the pomerial boundary of the city where a magistrate's *imperium militare* shifted to that of *imperium domi* (Livy 3.20.6–7; Torelli 1982, 29–30). Augustus, however, was exempt. In 30 the Senate had decreed that Octavian should have tribunician power for life, including the right to help those within the pomerium and for a mile outside it, and in 23 it renewed that decree and added perpetual proconsular imperium, “so he did not have to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor renew it” (Cassius Dio 53.32.5–6). The location of the Ara Pacis marks a shift in imperium for everyone else, but not for Augustus; it marks instead the continuity of his imperium.

Remains of the altar have been discovered at various times since the sixteenth century (von Duhn 1879, 1881; Toynbee 1953); from the early twentieth century, scholars have attempted to reconstruct it on paper (Petersen 1902; Sieveking 1907; G. Moretti 1937, 1938). The work of G. Moretti (1948) remains authoritative (Van Buren 1949; Toynbee 1952). Since the late 1930s, when Mussolini had the fragments of the Ara Pacis hastily reconstructed, the altar has been on display a considerable distance to the north and west of its original location, so that it now stands between the Mausoleum and the Tiber, turned 90 degrees counterclockwise from its original orientation. (By convention, the original orientation is used in describing the Ara Pacis.) Although the current reconstruction provides a good idea of what the structure looked like, much has been restored, and perhaps incorrectly.

Figure 25

The Ara Pacis is an intimate monument (fig. 25), constructed entirely of Luna marble, with relief sculpture on nearly every surface, inside and out (Koeppel 1987, 152–57; Steinby 1993–99, 4:70–74). Raised on a low podium of travertine and tufa blocks sheathed by marble, the superstructure consists of an outer precinct wall (11.60 × 10.50 m, 6.30 m high) enclosing a high central altar (7 × 6 m at its base), to which central doorways in the wall's east and west ends give access (these were closed by doors, as depicted on Neronian coins). Because the plaza of the Horologium-Solarium was originally lower than the Via Flaminia, a ramp leads up to the western entrance, which the altar inside faces.

Form and Function of the Interior Altar

The form of the inner altar (fig. 26) departs both from the Archaic type (shaped like an hourglass with two superimposed bolsters) and from Republican Roman altars (a cube or cylinder; Altmann 1905; Yavis 1949; Castagnoli 1959–60; Berges 1986; Dräger 1994). Instead, the altar takes a Hellenic form, shaped like a broad Greek *pi*: a long, raised, rectangular platform with a projecting terminal (*pulvinar*) at each end. A steep flight of nine steps approaches the altar along the west side.

Figure 26

For the form of the Ara Pacis we can find parallels—not for the monument as a whole, but for individual features—in the highly ornamental altars (“Prünkaltäre”) of the eastern Mediterranean and Sicily, mostly of Hellenistic date (Linfert 1995). Compare these grand monuments of the late third century, all much larger than the Ara Pacis: the “Nymph Altar” at Knidos (ca. 11 × 6 m; Webb 1996, 121–22), an altar to Dionysus at Kos (13.4 × 8.8 m; Stampolidis 1987; Webb 1996, 153–54), and the altar of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tinos (10.8 × 10.5 m; Étienne et al. 1986, 107–25; Webb 1996, 133). The so-called Altar Court at Samothrace (Lehmann and Spittle 1964), dedicated in the last quarter of the fourth century by Philip III Arrhidaios, combines an inner altar with enclosure wall (ca. 17.0 × 13.5 m), but there was no sculptural decoration. The enclosure wall of the Pergamon Altar (mid-second century) was decorated inside and out with relief sculpture and likewise enclosed an inner altar (Ridgway and de Grummond 2000; Rotroff 2001), but its colossal size, nine times the area of the Augustan altar, and its flamboyant decoration make it an unlikely immediate source for the Ara Pacis. Closest to the Ara Pacis in plan and design is the Augustan altar at Miletos, whose inner altar for sacrifice is enclosed by a screen with only one opening. The sculptural decoration of the Miletos altar includes figural panel reliefs and a garland frieze (Tuchelt 1975).

One frequently cited parallel, the fifth-century Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora (formerly misidentified as the Altar of Pity), can be dismissed. Excavation has shown that it was surrounded by a low precinct wall with only one entrance, and there is no reason to suppose that its walls were decorated with the three-figure reliefs once attributed to it (Crosby 1949; H. Thompson 1952; Toynbee 1953, 91–92; Wycherley 1954; Harrison 1964; E. Vanderpool 1974; Camp 1986, 40–42; Raeder 1994).

It may also be tempting to adduce, as a parallel, the augural *templum* for the observation of omens (cf. the late Republican example at Bantia in southern Italy; Torelli 1966; cf. Beck 1994, 100, 110–12). These structures had only a single entrance and a fixed viewing post for the officiating augur to observe the sky (Linderski 1986), all of which would have been impossible in the Ara Pacis because of its two opposed entrances, the existence of the inner altar, and the limited amount of room in which to maneuver.

Instead, the Ara Pacis most closely resembles a *janus* (like the famous Temple of Janus in the Roman Forum attributed to Rome’s second king, Numa Pompilius; Plutarch *Num.* 20; Holland 1961; Bauer 1976–77, 1977a; L. Richardson 1978a; Turcan 1981; R. Taylor 2000). A *janus* is an architectural feature that marks a symbolic passage

from one state of existence to another; the first janus in the Roman Forum was specifically designed to serve as an “index of war and peace” (*index belli pacisque*), whose doors were closed in time of peace and open during war. In *Res Gestae* 13, Augustus mentions that Janus in the passage immediately following the Ara Pacis and Ara Fortunae Reducis (abbreviated citation): “Janus Quirinus, which our ancestors ordered to be closed whenever there was peace, and which, before my birth, is recorded to have been closed only twice since the foundation of the city, the Senate ordered to be closed three times while I was princeps.” The first Augustan closure occurred on 11 January 29 after the Battle of Actium (Cassius Dio 51.20.4; Kissel 2000); the second probably occurred in 25 (Cassius Dio 53.26.5); and the third may have occurred in 13 (Ryberg 1949, 92–93; Weinstock 1960, 48; Reed 1973, 782). The Senate voted for a fourth closure in 10, but hostilities in Illyria and Dalmatia intervened (Cassius Dio 54.36.2; Reed 1973, 780–83; Syme 1979).

Augustus obviously took great pride in the three closings of the Temple of Janus, and in his establishment of peace; the janiform shape and peaceful theme of the Ara Pacis may thus be linked. Janus, as a god who looked backward and forward, who marked ends and beginnings, especially those of time (Fehrentz 1993, 156 n. 307), may also be invoked in the connection between the Ara Pacis and the Horologium-Solarium. The form of the Ara Pacis, then, may have functioned on several levels: a janiform altar (with closable doors) to the peace Augustus wrought, located near and aligned with a machine for cyclical time.

The Decoration of the Ara Pacis

Almost every surface of the Ara Pacis carries sculptural decoration from top to bottom: floral acroteria at the corners (not extant), rectangular pilasters with Corinthian acanthus capitals at the corners and flanking the doorways (the plain cornice with a triple fascia above is a modern restoration based on coin images), and Ionic moldings around the base of the walls on the exterior and around the podium of the inner altar (Schreiter 1995), some of it not completely finished.

Just above the midpoint on both interior and exterior walls, a horizontal string-course divides the wall surfaces into upper and lower registers. Outside, this string-course is boldly carved with a swastika meander pattern, while inside it carries a classicizing lotus and palmette frieze in low relief. Below this Ionic frieze the interior wall is carved to imitate a wooden fence, while above it hang swags from bucrania with libation bowls (*paterae*) above (fig. 27).

Figure 27

The lower exterior wall surface bears rich acanthus decoration arranged in a repeating design of tendrils and punctuated visually by upright stalks interspersed with several other types of vegetation and small animals. Atop the vegetation twenty small swans with displayed wings perch at regular intervals.

The upper exterior wall surface contains figural scenes. These include two extended processions of densely arranged, overlapping figures on the north and south sides,

shown as if moving in parallel groups toward the west end. At both the east and the west ends, two panel reliefs with allegorical and mythological scenes flank the entrances.

The altar inside sits on a tall base originally decorated with female figures on the north, east, and south sides (the stairs are on the west). The bolsters at the north and south ends of the altar terminate in four winged lion-griffins, one at each corner. Encircling the top of the altar just below the bolsters is a frieze, now fragmentary, that depicted a sacrificial procession of Vestal Virgins; it must represent the annual sacrifice (*anniversarium sacrificium*) at the altar mentioned in the *Res Gestae* 13.

In previous attempts to determine the meaning of the monument, most scholarly attention has been paid just to elements of the decorative program. In what follows, I attempt a more balanced, holistic interpretation.

THE INTERIOR

The Altar's Decorative Program

To the altar's podium have been assigned twelve fragments representing draped women in a frieze (ca. 67 cm high); they have not been included in the present restoration of the monument (Koeppel 1987, 148–51 no. 13). At least two of the individuals are amazonian types with a bared breast and weapons. Five other fragments are larger in scale (ca. 80 cm high) and so have been assigned to another frieze, probably from the sides of the altar (Koeppel 1987, 146–48 no. 12). Since only women seem to be depicted in the two friezes, they are probably personifications of pacified provinces, like those Augustus lists in *Res Gestae* 26 (Kähler 1954a, 89–100; de Angelis Bertolotti 1985; Hoffer et al. 1988, 426 no. 230; Ostrowski 1990; Liverani 1995, 220–21).

Lists or personifications of territories under political control have a long Greco-Roman history. One thinks of the “Catalogue of Ships” (*Iliad*, Book 2), Theokritos's list of the lands that acknowledged the rule of Ptolemy II (*Idyll* 17), Pompey's statues of nations around the cavea of his theater in the southern Campus Martius (Pliny 36.41), and the triumph, in 19, of L. Cornelius Balbus over the Garamantes of North Africa, which included the *tituli* and images of the conquered cities and peoples (Pliny 5.36; cf. Vergil *Aen.* 6.794–95).

Augustus also included geographic personifications in other monuments. He adorned his own Porticus ad Nationes with *simulacra gentium* (Servius *Aen.* 7.721; L. Richardson 1992, 316–17) and his Forum of Augustus with *tituli* (Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2; G. Alföldi 1989; Liverani 1995, 221). Personifications of provinces appear on the “Augustus” cup from Boscoreale (Kuttner 1995, 69–93), and others occur on the breast-plate of the Primaporta Augustus (fig. 21).

The small frieze (32 cm high) on the sides of the altar, near its top, wraps around at least five of its eight surfaces, interrupted by the recumbent lion-griffins at the four corners (fig. 28). The widely spaced human and animal figures show varied motions,

Figure 28

while the people present attributes that allow us to distinguish among individuals and their functions. In size and style the altar frieze can be compared with the two friezes in the interior cella of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (Koeppel 1989, 34–38 nos. 1–3; D. Kleiner 1992, 84–86).

The long frieze on the outer east (back) end of the altar is the most fragmentary (Koeppel 1987, 146 no. 11). Only two figures are preserved, probably moving to the right: a short, youthful togatus at far left and a taller togatus at far right. On the south and north exterior sides, more individuals move in two parallel processions from the east (back) end of the altar toward the west (front) end. The south frieze includes parts of four individuals, all of them apparently *victimarii*, carrying sacrificial equipment or accompanying animal victims (now missing) and wearing the *limus*, a tunic worn unfastened at the shoulders and rolled around the waist in order to free both arms (Koeppel 1987, 145 no. 10).

Figure 29

The long frieze on the inner east (back) end of the altar (fig. 29) is virtually complete, preserving fifteen men and three sacrificial animals (Koeppel 1987, 138–41 no. 7), two bovids and a sheep (Ryberg 1955, 42; Weinstock 1960, 54, n. 118). Ovid mentions the sacrifice of a white victim at the Ara Pacis on 30 January of each year, but does not specify the type or sex of the animal (*Fasti* 1.720).

The frieze continues on the inner sides of the projecting arms of the altar parapet. The inner (south) side of the north arm (fig. 28) depicts a procession moving from left to right that includes five Vestal Virgins of different ages flanked by a pair of male figures (Koeppel 1987, 143 no. 9; D. Kleiner 1992, 91 fig. 72; Conlin 1997, figs. 237–39, 247). The inner (north) side of the south arm preserves only two men moving from right to left: one, veiled and wearing the toga (*togatus, capite velato*), and the other, a priest (*flamen*) wearing his distinctive cap (*galerus*) (Koeppel 1987, 143 no. 9). The two processions on the arms may have continued onto the west side of the altar to meet at the center, but no fragments have survived.

Since less than half of the inner altar frieze survives, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about its nature. Of the thirty-two surviving figures, however, twenty-seven are male and five are female, roughly the ratio of male to female figures in the exterior processions.

The four lion-griffins (fig. 28) may be seen as apotropaic guardian figures that belong to a long tradition stretching back into the third millennium (Flagge 1975; Delplace 1980). Orientalizing trends brought winged lion-griffins to Etruria at an early date (De Ruyt 1964–65, 71, 81). From then on, the monsters are common in a wide variety of media, including altars, sarcophagi, architecture, furniture, frescoes (like those that decorated the Farnesina Villa, probably commissioned for Julia Major's marriage to Agrippa; Bragantini and De Vos 1982, pls. 136, 139, 154, 157, 160). They also occur in Augustus's own house on the Palatine (Carettoni 1983a, 402–8), and the attached Temple of Apollo (Servius *Ecl.* 8.27; Gallo 1985–86, figs. 23–25; Strazzulla 1990, figs. 28–30; Pensabene 1997, pl. 28.1).

Since griffins were known mythologically as northern guardians of the gold that Arimasps fight for (Herodotus 3.116), their presence in art also suggests preciousness and heroism (Engemann 1982; Kokula 1984, pl. 10.4T; Davies 2000, 33–34), and, by extension, the return of the Golden Age, a theme that was particularly popular after the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 (A. Alföldi 1933, 566–67).

The Altar's Function

It is difficult to understand how the inner altar was used. The height of the enclosing precinct walls effectively cut the altar off from view of those standing outside the monument. Inside, space is too limited to accommodate many people, people with animals, or even much movement, let alone the processions that are depicted in the altar friezes. Toynbee (1953, 73–74) suggests that officiating priests entered the monument on its west side, but that animal victims were slaughtered outdoors on the east side. Such a reconstruction of the sacrifice mentioned in the *Res Gestae* sounds implausible, but it at least acknowledges the reality of the cramped quarters. The narrow space on the altar top could only have allowed bloodless offerings like fruit, cakes, or wine, and maybe a small fire for burning incense, as Ovid testifies (*Fasti* 1.719), but a large fire would damage the marble. Since the Ara Pacis cannot have served as an altar in the traditional sense, it probably functioned more as a memorial (to Augustus's return) or a symbol (of sacrificing to Peace).

The Interior of the Precinct Wall

The lower half of the screen wall on the interior (cf. figs. 26–27) is carved to represent the upright palings of a fence (Pasqui 1913; Toynbee 1953, 72, pl. XXb; Büsing 1977), crowned with a taenia with a low Ionic relief (cf. the taenia around the interior walls of the Hall of the Colossus in the Forum of Augustus: Zanker 1984, figs. 8, 18). Somewhat similar palings occur on the interior wall of the monumental marble precinct around the altar of Artemis at Ephesos, where it is crowned by a taenia with a swastika meander (Bammer 1966–67; 1967; 1983, fig. 15). The lotus and palmette design is borrowed from such high Classical monuments as the Erechtheion in Athens, and recurs frequently on monuments of Augustan date (e.g., the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis at Athens, and on a small temple in the Athens Agora: Shear 1997, fig. 5, pls. 96c, 97a).

The wall surface above the Ionic frieze depicts garlands of fruit and vegetation suspended between bucrania whose horns are tied with fluttering ribbons that seem tossed by breezes. Over each garland is an umbilicate patera, carved as if hanging on the wall (E. Simon 1986a, figs. 33, 265; Dräger 1994, 127–29). While none of these decorative elements is new, it is innovative to apply them on the interior of a structure rather than on the outside (cf. fig. 9). The garlands present a wealth of vegetation that connects the seasons with the general fertility of nature: grapes, ivy, oak, laurel, pinecones, apples, figs, pomegranates, poppies, wheat ears, and acanthus. Some of these

plants are found elsewhere on the building as well; the paterae also recur in the processions; and the bucrania suggest the sacrifice depicted on the inner altar frieze.

The bucranium-and-garland frieze originates no later than the early third century (Bohtz 1981, figs. 8, 9, pl. 27; Berges 1986, 86–130; Umholtz 1999). It is especially common on small altars throughout the eastern Mediterranean (e.g., Winter 1908, no. 418, pl. XLI; for others see Kraus 1953, pl. 22; Etienne et al. 1986, pl. 85.2). By the first century, if not earlier, such garland friezes reached Italy and Rome itself (Honroth 1971; Mingazzini 1974–75; von Hesberg 1981). Garlands are also found plentifully on painted wall surfaces (e.g., the villa of Fannius Synistor, dating to 40–30; and room III of the “House of Livia” on the Palatine, conventionally dated ca. 30–25; E. Simon 1986a, 190 fig. 248).

All these motifs—garlands, paterae, bucrania—also occur in friezes that decorate tombs like that of Caecilia Metella (fig. 9) and the monument of Bibulus near the Capitoline hill. They thus possessed a funerary significance (von Hesberg 1981, pl. 66.2; Frischer 1982–83, pl. LXIII.1); and eventually these designs are applied to Roman sarcophagi as well (Herdejürgen 1996).

The decorative scheme of the interior precinct wall thus confounds our notions of permanence and impermanence. The wooden palings of a temporary structure have been translated into durable stone; above hang the stripped skulls of the once-living sacrificial animals. Like the bucrania, real garlands of fruit and flowers are ephemeral, but all are preserved in the marble. Even the winds that make the garlands flutter have been made permanent. Death and decay have been transformed into immortality.

THE EXTERIOR SCREEN WALL

Floral Ornament

Figure 30

Under each of the six figural panels of the exterior screen wall there is an individual acanthus plant (fig. 30). All of these are structured similarly: from a central calyx, curling stems and stalks spread outward and upward in a rhythmical, repeating pattern that avoids monotony through the introduction of other types of plants and small animals (Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford 1955; Jucker 1961; L’Orange 1962; Börker 1973; Sauron 1982, 1988, 2000; Castriota 1995; Schörner 1995; Cohon 2002b). The twelve pilasters that ornament the four corners of the precinct wall and frame the doorways are also covered with acanthus vegetation rising from a central calyx. Acanthus thus insistently unifies the decorative scheme of the entire monument. A. Büsing (1977) has even suggested that the acanthus stalks or stems in the lower register serve as pointers, calling attention to certain individuals in the figural friezes and panels above, though this does not seem to work in every case.

Although acanthus ornament was extremely popular on Augustan buildings in Rome, no other early imperial structure carries so much of it—nearly 55 square meters.

Early on, acanthus was associated with funerary and commemorative aspects; it appears on Greek grave stelai in the fifth century, and Vitruvius (4.1.9–10; Gros 1993b) derives the inspiration for the Corinthian architectural order from a basket placed on a grave at Corinth that gradually became enveloped by acanthus leaves. Acanthus also adorned Greek architecture well before the end of the Classical period (Billot 1993): for instance, the Parthenon's central acroteria (Binder 1977), the Argive Heraion's sima (A. Delivorias 1984), and the earliest Corinthian capital from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (Cooper 1992, pls. 40d, 49, 50). Acanthus continued to decorate fourth-century tomb stelai, monuments like the Lysikrates Monument at Athens (334; Bauer 1977b), and the enigmatic Acanthus Column at Delphi (ca. 330–25; Rolley 1999, figs. 402–4), pottery (Schauenberg 1957; Rotroff 1982, 6–13; Villard 1998), terracotta revetments, metalwork, and pebble mosaics (e.g., Votsis 1976, fig. 11; Giannouli and Guimier-Sorbets 1988, fig. 2, col. pl. III.1, 2). It appears in Macedonian royal iconography, decorating the purple and gold cloth used at Vergina to wrap the remains of the female cremation burial in the “Philip Tomb” (Andronikos 1984, col. figs. 156–57), as well as the sumptuous funeral cart used to transport the body of Alexander the Great from Asia to Egypt (Pfrommer 1999, fig. 43). Hellenistic examples of acanthus decoration (Kraus 1953) include Ptolemaic buildings in Egypt and elsewhere, like the complex at Hermopolis (Wace 1959).

Acanthus filtered into Rome during the middle and late Republic through a variety of conduits (Sauron 1993). At Lecce in southern Italy, the dromos of a Hellenistic tomb carries a carved frieze with a central acanthus calyx from which a woman's head emerges (as on Apulian vases); tendrils unroll to either side, combined with florals and interspersed with small animals and amorini (Lambole 1996, 168, pl. II). Frescoes and mosaics from Pompeii and Delos regularly include acanthus (Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950; Sauron 1978; Ovadiah 1980; Pappalardo 1982). And by the late second century, Neo-Attic workshops in Greece were applying acanthus decoration to marble furnishings designed specifically for markets in Italy: candelabra, table supports, garden furniture like kraters and large bowls, and decorative pilasters and friezes for several types of monuments (Merlin 1930; Cohon 1984; Sinn 1987; Cain and Dräger 1994; Hilscher-Ehlert 1994). Slightly earlier than the Ara Pacis, acanthus panels and pilasters of comparable quality occur in Rome and in Asia Minor (Cohon 2004; Mathea-Förtsch 1999).

Many of the acanthus stocks on the Ara Pacis metamorphose into other plants: laurel (fig. 31), grapes, ivy, roses, and oak leaves. One can easily interpret these plants as political references. The laurel has significant Augustan associations (A. Alföldi 1973; Flory 1995): it is Apollo's plant and symbol of victory (Pliny 15.133–34); the princeps used only the laurels that grew at Livia's villa at Prima porta for his triumphs; a pair of laurels flanked the door of Augustus's house on the Palatine (echoed in relief on the façade of the Mausoleum). In the north processional frieze of the Ara Pacis, a number of individuals wear laurel wreaths or carry sprigs in their outstretched hands; perhaps Augustus, on the south side, did too (Pollini 1978, 87–89).

Figure 31

Grapes and ivy leaves also appear in both the north and south floral friezes. Both plants were sacred to Dionysus, a god who seems at times to be the alter ego of Apollo (Pollini 1993b; E. Simon 1998a). Since Dionysus was popularly thought to have arrived from the east, the grape harvest could symbolize Augustus's victory over Antony (Mannsperger 1973; Sauron 1982, 1988), especially since the harvest occurred in September under Augustus's sign of Libra (Manilius 3.662–63, 4.203–4). Libations of wine (cf. the many paterae and wine jugs sprinkled throughout the sculptural decoration) were poured to the Genius of Augustus from 30 on, especially after his return from the west in 13 (Horace *Carm.* 4.5.32–34; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.720).

The domesticated plants on the Ara Pacis recall a garden. The late Republic saw an intense interest in gardens. In the paintings from a subterranean room in Livia's villa at Prima porta (Gabriel 1955; Kellum 1994a, 1994b; Elsner 1999) overlapping trees and plants suggest a lush and virtually impenetrable world. The Ara Pacis garden, however, consists of an orderly profusion of plants displayed parallel to the wall surface, as if trained *espalier*-style. This idealized version of a garden is arranged more by the mind than by nature, but it includes a larger variety of life (the paintings include only birds); it is an envisioned paradise that implies the fertility and prosperity of the world at peace, while also possessing a funerary (that is, immortal) and a commemorative aspect; thus, to G. Moretti (1948, 295), the florals represent the Gardens of the Blessed, implying the eventual deification of Augustus.

Animals among the Vegetation

The vegetation panels are also home to a variety of small creatures (Toynbee 1973). The most obvious are the twenty small swans arranged formally near the top of the acanthus plants (fig. 32): two on each end panel flanking the entranceways, and six along each long side. Although D. Castriota has suggested (1995, 63–68, 87–88) that the swans are connected with Dionysus and Venus/Aphrodite as well as Apollo, and therefore had only a generalized significance, most writers, ancient and modern, consider the swans oracular symbols of Apollo that announce the advent of the new Golden Age (Bodson 1978).

The actual swans represented are probably the singing swans (*Cygnus musicus* or *C. ferus*), which migrated from the Mediterranean to the Baltic in the spring and came back in the fall, around the time of the equinoxes (Ahl 1982). The seventh-century poet Alkaios, who exercised considerable influence on the literary circle around Augustus, describes how swans drew Apollo's chariot when he journeyed to the edge of the known world to visit the Hyperboreans (*Hymn to Apollo*; cf. Diodorus Siculus 2.47.2). Hekataios of Abdera (late fourth century) describes how swans purified Apollo's temple among the Hyperboreans with their wings and alighted on the precinct wall (Dillery 1998), a poetic image that suits the actual placement of the swans on the Ara Pacis. Singing swans also heralded the birth of Apollo as the beginning of a Golden Age (Callimachus *Hymn* 4.249–63). Swans are thus frequent in Augustan art: in the

Figure 32

wall paintings of Augustus's own residence on the Palatine (Carettoni 1983a, 402–8, fig. 12, col. pl. 14.2); in the black bedroom of the imperial villa at Boscoreale (dated to 11), which also contained tondo portraits of Livia and Julia Major (M. Anderson 1987); and on an Augustan altar from Arles (Zanker 1988, fig. 256; Turcan 1995, fig. 117).

The number of swans, twenty in all, may refer to the dedication of the Ara Pacis in the twentieth year after the conquest of Egypt; the twelve swans below the processions may refer to three legendary events: the twelve swans chased by eagles that Aeneas sees (Ennius *Annales* frags. 96–100; Hardie 1987), the number of ships that carried the Trojans to Italy (Vergil *Aen.* 1.393–400, 12.247–56), and the number of swans Romulus sees as heralds of Rome's foundation (Holliday 1990, 545 n. 30).

Swans, like acanthus, also possessed a funerary significance, perhaps best known from Socrates' speech to Simmias in Plato's *Phaedo* (84e–85b): "You seem to think I am inferior in prophetic power to the swans who, when they feel they are about to die, sing—as they do at other times—but now most and best of all, knowing full well that they are about to go to the god whose servants they are" (cf. Krappe 1942). In the fourth century, swans appear in the acanthus vegetation on a few Attic grave stelai (e.g., Clairmont 1993, nos. 2.391, 2.336) and on many South Italian vases (Schauenberg 1996). The poets of Augustan Rome used swans as a metaphor for death and immortality (Arnott 1977; Linderski 1985, 228–34): they reach the stars in Vergil (*Ecl.* 9.27–29) and become constellations (*Aen.* 10.193; cf. Servius *Aen.* 10.189); Horace (*Carm.* 2.20) conceives of his metamorphosis at death into a swan (Bonfante 1992). Similarly, a silver vessel from Pompeii shows antithetic swans with outstretched wings garlanding Homer with fillets during his apotheosis on the back of an eagle (De Caro 1996, 233).

The other animals in the acanthus friezes of the Ara Pacis are much smaller and can be found only with careful study. They include snakes, lizards, frogs or toads, scorpions, birds, insects such as locusts, and a butterfly. Under the leaves of the central acanthus calyx on the north side, a snake slithers toward a nest containing chicks, one of which has hopped out in an attempt to escape, possibly referring to a "dark side" of nature (fig. 33). One lizard deserves note because it is located not on a plant stem but on the wall surface, indicating that the sculptors envisioned the wall of the Ara Pacis as a real, solid surface, with the acanthus growing up against it.

These miniature animals are part of a long Greco-Roman tradition. Frogs and snakes decorated the base of a bronze palm tree dedicated by Kypselos, tyrant of Corinth at Delphi in the seventh century (Déonna 1951). A frog and lizard decorated the columns of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (chapter 2). In the early imperial period, small animals are included in the sculpted decoration of many objects, such as marble table supports (Cohon 1994), relief panels (Talamo 1983), the doorframe of the Eumachia building at Pompeii (Wallat 1995), and silver cups, like those from Boscoreale and in the British Museum (Corbett and Strong 1961; Haynes 1961; Strong 1966, figs. 41, 42; Baratte 1986; Castriota 1995, pl. 90a–b).

Figure 33

The reason for including such small animals may be simply aesthetic, to relieve the monotony of repeating designs (Kellum 1994a), or more philosophical: like Noah's Ark, a paradise contains all animals, great and small. A fragment of the Sibylline oracles suggests that in the new Golden Age, even "the winged and creeping animals of the earth" would take part in the universal happiness (Geffcken 1902, lines 368–70).

The Meander Band

Like the acanthus, the swastika meander that separates the lower and upper registers on the exterior of the Ara Pacis precinct wall is a decorative motif with a long history in Greek and Roman art. It first appears in the Early Bronze Age on mainland Greece and commonly in Greek vase painting from the Geometric period on, probably as a variation of the meander pattern of textiles; from Archaic times it occurs frequently on architectural terracotta revetments (both painted and in relief) and becomes widespread in the decorative arts by the Hellenistic period.

The swastika was probably introduced into Italy under Greek influence. Elaborate meander borders in the François Tomb at Vulci (early sixth century) suggest the third dimension (Coarelli 1983c; Holliday 1993a). And it occurs as a decorative molding in stone on the Ionic columns of a temple at Metaponto in southern Italy (fifth century; Mertens 1979, figs. 3, 4, pl. 16.1).

The motif was also popular on Augustan buildings in Rome and elsewhere (cf. fig. 14). Most often, the meander articulates a wall surface or separates areas of decoration: for instance, on the pulvinar from the tomb of Agrippa in the Campus Martius (mentioned in chapter 2); on the underside of the soffits of the Temple of Mars Ultor; and on the walls of the colonnades in the Forum of Augustus, running under the niches that contained the statues of the *summi viri*, and around the walls of the hall that contained a colossal statue of Augustus or Julius Caesar.

THE FIGURAL PANELS

Two pairs of large panel reliefs (2.44 × 1.55 m) decorate the east and west ends of the monument, each pair flanking the entrances in the precinct wall. These share formal compositional characteristics that indicate clearly that the panels of each pair were designed as pendants to one another (Picard 1973; Bartman 1988). Those on the east end carry seated female divinities or personifications, conventionally labeled "Tellus" (south side) and "Roma" (north side). The fragmentary panels on the west end, by contrast, include only (?) male figures standing in landscape settings, each organized around a central tree. These are conventionally identified as the Romulus panel (north side) and the Aeneas panel (south side), but for the latter I shall suggest a different interpretation.

The panels occupy a new position on a Roman state monument. Unlike a frieze or metopes along the top of a wall, they are set, like the processional friezes on the north

and south sides, just above eye level, flanking the doors above the acanthus panels. Romans were not familiar with such large-scale reliefs at eye level, but they saw smaller stone reliefs commonly set into the walls of garden peristyles, like those in the walls of the Saepta, finished by Agrippa in 26 (Cassius Dio 53.23.2).

The Ara Pacis end panels have sometimes been compared to Hellenistic reliefs (D. Kleiner 1992, 96; cf. Schreiber 1896; Froning 1981; Bergmann 1995), but as figural panels they belong to a class of art, the painted panel, that had a long history in Italy; we can appreciate them best in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Many famous Greek paintings were carried in triumphal processions at Rome (Picard 1957; M. Thompson 1961; Holliday 1980, 1997); those once in Attalid or Ptolemaic collections were on display at important locations throughout the city, some through the generosity of Agrippa. Generals, including Augustus, acquired paintings by purchase or by right of conquest and dedicated them in temples (Pliny 35.91, 131; Westall 1996). Several paintings were intentionally displayed in pairs, like the two compositions by Apelles depicting Alexander the Great and exhibited in the Forum of Augustus (Pliny 35.27, 93–94; Cresci Marrone 1980).

Ecphrasis is the rhetorical device for extending a narrative by describing a painting or some other work of art (Bryson 1994; Feldherr 2002). One of the most famous examples of this device occurs in Vergil's *Aeneid* (1.453–93), where he describes the paintings (or reliefs?) decorating the Temple of Juno in Carthage (Putnam 1998; add Stanley 1965; Koeppel 1985b).

There are important differences, however, between these Greek paintings and the Ara Pacis reliefs. The latter are Roman creations, not Greek imports; their mythological or allegorical themes are Roman, not Hellenic; and they decorate the exterior walls of an altar precinct honoring Augustus's peace, not the interior of a building.

“Tellus”

Despite extensive restorations, the southern panel on the east end of the precinct wall (fig. 34) is the best preserved of the four on the monument (Toynbee 1953, 81; Koeppel 1987, 111–13; E. Simon 1967, 26–29; 1986a, 39–41; Davies 2000, 111–13), yet a generally accepted interpretation of it has yet to emerge. I use the term “Tellus” here for the sake of convenience; other identifications have been proposed by many scholars for the central figure, including Pax (which I prefer), Italia, Venus, Ceres, Ilia (mother of the twins Romulus and Remus), and various combinations of these divinities, as if the work were polysemantic, capable of encompassing multiple meanings (Borbein 1976; Scheibler 1984; E. Simon 1988; Galinsky 1992).

At the center of the panel is a large woman seated in profile on a rocky outcrop; she cradles a pair of babies, one against each hip. At her feet are a small recumbent bovid and a grazing sheep—the same animals preserved on the inner altar frieze. Flanking and facing the central woman are two smaller females, each framed against the background by a billowing mantle. Each is also seated on the back of an animal: at left, a

Figure 34

goose or swan (the restorations make it impossible to be sure), flying above a marsh where a small heron stands on an overturned vessel that pours water from its mouth, and, at right, an aquatic monster (*cetus*) emerging from rough sea waves. In the upper background of the panel are reeds, poppies, and wheat, all carved in low relief.

The central woman commands attention by her position and large scale. She is barefooted and wears a Greek, rather than a Roman, costume: a sheer chiton with buttoned sleeves, one of which slips off her right shoulder, nearly revealing the breast. She also wears her hair in a Greek coiffure, parted in the middle and brushed in thick, wavy locks toward the back of the head; a single tress falls along either side of the neck (cf. the hairstyle of “Livia” in the south frieze, fig. 42). Below her veil she wears a garland that includes some of the same vegetation that is found in her lap. A heavy mantle encircles the lower body, with an edge of the fabric pulled up to veil the head. Nearly filling her lap is a wealth of fruit, including pomegranates, poppies, and a bunch of grapes—obviously an allusion to fertility and thus, by implication, to peace.

The two nude babies have been so heavily restored that it is impossible to determine their sex. They are arranged so that they do not obscure the body of the seated woman, one at her right hip and the other on her left knee; the latter extends its right hand, holding a fruit, perhaps a pomegranate, toward the woman.

While depictions of women holding or nursing infants have a long history (Price 1978), only a few present close iconographic parallels. I mention two: the late fifth-century Greek tombstone of Ampharete (Clairmont 1993, 1:404–6, pl. 1.660; Boardman 1985, fig. 150) and an Aphrodite from Cumae now in Naples (Hoffer et al. 1988, 415 fig. 193; Zanker 1988, fig. 245a–b; Bertoldi 1973, figs. 6–8). Both women are seated. Ampharete (the grandmother of the child, as stated in the inscription, but depicted as young enough to be the child’s mother) is seated on a chair to right, holding the baby in her lap. The Cumae goddess holds a baby Eros; she sits on a rocky outcrop covered with acanthus and flowers, her upper body bare.

The pair of “Tellus” infants may be the same as the two that appear with the recumbent figure of Tellus on the cuirass of the Primaporta Augustus (fig. 21) and on the Gemma Augustea (fig. 20; see chapter 4). The infants are usually identified as Romulus and Remus, though their conflict as adults makes this identification problematic: B. Spaeth (1996, 131–32) suggests Liber and Libera with the goddess Ceres. Vergil, however, predicted that when the Golden Age returned, Romulus and Remus would be reborn as lawgivers (*Aen.* 1.291–95).

Special children born for the new age may be the aspect that is being emphasized here. As noted in chapter 4, the birth of a special child or children announcing the return of a Golden Age was a central component of the Greco-Roman literary tradition in the second to first century (Norden 1924; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1997). This model accommodated several pairs of children who were the offspring of elite or royal parents: Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, the twin children of Antony and Cleopatra (born in 40); the hoped-for son from the union of Octavia and Antony

(instead, they had a daughter, Antonia Major) and Octavian's daughter Julia (both born in 39). Gaius and Lucius Caesar might also fit; they were born a generation later and several years apart but were jointly adopted by Augustus in 17, about the time of the Secular Games—the joint adoption may have been a precaution to provide him at least one surviving heir. So Tiberius designated both Gaius Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus as his heirs; and Claudius adopted Nero in addition to his own son, Britannicus (Bush and McHugh 1974; Mlasowsky 1996).

The flanking women wear garlands over different coiffures. Their only garment is a mantle draped around the lower body and drawn up and around the back and head to form a billowing veil, which frames the head and torso but leaves the body nude from the waist up (*velificatio*). Based on these framing, billowing mantles, several interpretations have been proposed. The identification of *Aurae* (Breezes) has long been popular (cf. Pliny 36.29, on the pair of *velificantes* in the Porticus of Octavia). Other suggestions include Seasons (Horae), aspects of Venus (cf. Spaeth 1996, 126), and various female demigods in combination. Since one female rides a bird and the other a sea monster (cf. early imperial cuirassed figures: Koch 1995), they could be a nymph of fresh water, a Naiad, and a nymph of salt water, a Nereid (Spaeth 1996, 134).

Detailed analysis of the Tellus relief has obscured its basic meaning. One can concentrate on the veiled central figure as a goddess of marriage, mourning, or modesty (e.g., Hera on the Parthenon frieze, women on Greek grave stelai, Penelope and Demeter). Her slipping chiton suggests Venus/Aphrodite, but even Artemis's gown slips on the Parthenon's east frieze, as do the gowns of other women (e.g., in the Telephos frieze from the Pergamon Altar, and the "Drunken Old Woman" in Munich). A Tiberian cameo in Vienna shows Livia as Magna Mater with the slipping chiton and the hairstyle of "Tellus"; over the chiton we see the straps of a Roman stola, the garment worn by modest Roman matrons (E. Simon 1986a, 162 fig. 211; Winkes 1995, 189 no. 113; cf. a similar cameo in Boston: Flory 1995; D. Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 184 fig. 2).

Similarly, *velificatio* is a common stylized convention for rendering epiphany or vigorous movement; it is not restricted to a single deity or gender. Female *velificantes* include the "Iris" in the Parthenon's east pediment, Tarpeia on the Basilica Aemilia frieze in Rome (Turcan 1995, 38 col. fig. 37), and a woman in the Great Frieze in the Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii (Turcan 1995, 77 col. fig. 90); male figures include Caelus on the Belvedere altar (Zanker 1969, pl. 66.1), Mars on the cuirass of a statue in Cherchel (E. Simon 1979; 1986a, 52 col. pl. 8), and a flying male figure on the Tazza Farnese (Dwyer 1992).

At a basic level, however, the Tellus relief features three females (probably signifying fecundity), each associated with one aspect of the cosmos: two females riding a waterbird and a monster of the sea flank a female associated with the fruits of the earth. Such depictions of humans having power over these cosmic divisions have long been the subject of art. In Geometric Greek pottery a man will hold a horse (land)

Figure 35

while a fish (sea) appears below and a bird (air) above (Langdon 1989). Closer to home, a Julio-Claudian relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (fig. 35) depicts a large nude Augustus framed by a billowing mantle and holding a cornucopia and rudder (land and sea). He is flanked by two smaller females (fecundity), one raising her hand to the cornucopia, while the other, a tritones, touches the rudder (Smith 1990).

Literature shares this artistic topos. Appian describes Rome at the time of the Civil Wars as “the most powerful mistress of so many nations *by land and sea*” (*B Civ.* 4.16, emphasis added). The Greek phrase (*kai gēs kai thalássēs*) was standard: so Pompey was heralded as having control “on land and sea” (*ILS* 9459; Cassius Dio 42.5.2), and Octavian had a golden statue set up to him in 36 inscribed: “Peace, long disturbed, he re-established on land and sea” (*katà te gēn kai thálassan*; Appian *B Civ.* 5.130). Augustus himself used this expression, but in Latin, in his *Res Gestae* (4.2): he had both pursued war and established peace “by land and sea” (*terra marique*; Momigliano 1942a, 1942b).

The simplest identification, then, for this relief is that it features Pax herself, who is otherwise missing from her own altar (Claridge 1998, 187). Though Peace lacks her most common attributes, the caduceus and cornucopia, the fruits that lie in her lap are those of the cornucopia, and she holds children instead of the caduceus—children who are the products of peace (cf. Kephisodotos’s statue of mother and child, Peace [Eirēnē] holding baby Wealth [Ploutos]: La Rocca 1974; Belloni 1985). If this substitution is acceptable, then “Tellus” is Pax Augusta herself, symbolizing peace and fertility over land, sea, and sky, her children the hope of future Romans.

Roma

Figure 36

In contrast to the Tellus relief, the northern panel on the west end of the Ara Pacis is very poorly preserved but presents fewer problems of identification and interpretation (Koeppel 1987, 113–15). A fragment showing the profile-draped thigh of a figure seated left on a footstool, surrounded by arms and armor, is all that survives of “Roma” (fig. 36). By analogy with the Tellus panel, she has been assigned to the central position in a three-figure composition, flanked by other personifications. Formerly restored to the “Aeneas” relief, a fragment with the head of a figure facing left and holding a fragmentary cornucopia is now generally assigned to the right side of the Roma panel (Studniczka 1909, 901; Toynbee 1953, 80; E. Simon 1967, 23), and it seems reasonable to supply a corresponding figure at the left side of the relief, facing right.

When the cult of Roma as personification of the city and state (Mellor 1975, 1981; Errington 1987) was established in the Greek east in the third century, she began to appear on coins and cult images in the style of draped Hellenistic goddesses (e.g., on Delos: Marcadé 1969, 128, pl. LXV). Her iconography as armed and amazonian in character, however, derives from Classical representations such as Athena on the Nike Balustrade reliefs and Attic document reliefs (Ritter 1997). The Zoilos Monument from Aphrodisias, carved about two decades before the Ara Pacis (A. Alföldi 1979, 14; Smith

1993, 43–45) presents a Roma in relief, seated to left on a block-like throne, wearing a small pseudo-Attic helmet, and armed with a sword and a large circular shield. In this more militaristic guise, Roma appears for the first time on a state monument in Rome—on the Ara Pacis.

Augustus was linked early with the cult of Roma in the eastern Mediterranean: in 29 he allowed the cult of Roma and divus Julius to be established in Asia and Bithynia, and then he himself and Roma served as paired gods (*śinnnai theoi*) at Pergamon and Nicomedia (Cassius Dio 51.20.7–8; Tacitus *Ann.* 4.37; Nock 1930), and on the Akropolis at Athens (27–18). While the Ara Pacis was under construction, the cult had apparently been adopted in the west as well: at Lyon, where an altar to Roma and Augustus was erected in 12 (Turcan 1982; Süsserbach 1989; Audin and Fishwick 1990; Fishwick 1996). The Gemma Augustea in Vienna (fig. 20) emphasizes the special relationship of Augustus and Roma by showing them enthroned together on the same seat (Megow 1987, 155–63 no. A10; D. Kleiner 1992, 69–72).

For the two figures flanking Roma, it is possible to propose two likely sets of personifications: Honos (Honor) and Virtus (Military Virtue; E. Simon 1967), or the Genius Populi Romani (“spirit of the Roman people”) and the Genius Senatus (Kuttner 1995, 19–22). There are, however, few parallels for either pair. Kuttner identifies the bare-chested male figure on the silver “Augustus” cup from Boscoreale as the Genius Populi Romani; Honos and Virtus appear on coins minted by Pompey for his triumph of 70, and they shared a double shrine at the Porta Capena (L. Richardson 1978b; 1992, 190), where Augustus had the Ara Fortunae Reducis built in 19 (*Res Gestae* 29). Either allegorical pair would complement the goddess nicely, and both are male, thus balancing the pair of female abstractions flanking “Tellus.” While Honos and Virtus would echo Roma’s militaristic aspect, the two Genii would create an overt reference to Augustus’s restoration of the Senate as part of his reorganization of the state and its institutions.

Romulus and Remus

Despite the highly fragmentary condition of the northern panel on the west end of the precinct wall (Moretti 1948, pl. XVI), the major aspects of the scene can be identified (fig. 37). On the left, a helmeted man approaches; on the right, a man leans on a staff to watch the central scene (now missing), above which is a fig tree. Most scholars identify the god Mars and the herdsman Faustulus discovering the (now absent) twins, Romulus and Remus, being suckled by a she-wolf (the *lupa romana*) at the foot of the fig tree, *figus ruminalis*, near the Lupercal (for the myth, see Bremmer 1987; J. Small 1994; Berczelly 1985 suggests Mars visiting a sleeping Rhea Silvia, but Faustulus’s watching would be inappropriate).

Faustulus preserves few traces of his head and torso, except for his right arm, and his legs are lacking entirely. But he wears a hip-mantle, which D. Castriota (1995, 155–57, 161) argues would have been inappropriate for a rustic, and he prefers to identify the figure as the twins’ grandfather, King Numitor, a suggestion which has not yet

Figure 37

received much attention. We can restore the pose of this figure from the Aeneas on the Belvedere altar in the Vatican, dated between 12 and 7 (Zanker 1969, 214–15, pl. 65.2). In two works the nude Herakles leans on his club in roughly the same pose as he gazes at his infant son, Telephos, being suckled either by a lioness (as in the Telephos frieze from the Pergamon Altar; Pollitt 1986, 205 and fig. 218; Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996; Ridgway 2000, 70–71) or by a hind (in a painting from the Basilica at Herculaneum; De Caro 1996, 120 and col. fig.). Apparently the combination of leaning pose and supporting staff are topoi for drawing attention to important nearby elements in a scene.

Mars wears a plumed neo-Attic helmet of a type popular throughout the first century, with a leaping griffin in relief on the calotte (Toynbee 1953, pl. XIIa). Romulus on the Basilica Aemilia frieze wears this type of helmet; so does the Roman version of the Ares Borghese, perhaps to honor Gaius at Athens (Dintsis 1986, 113–33; Hartswick 1990; Rolley 1999, 148–49). The god has a handsome, classicizing face with slightly parted lips and a short curly beard and moustache. He wears a cuirass with gorgoneion under a military cloak (*paludamentum*) draped over his shoulders; the lower part of this cloak is gathered horizontally over his right hip, just as on the Primaporta Augustus. Traces of his hand-held spear wreathed in laurel survive in low relief, emphasizing the peaceful nature of the scene (cf. Pliny 15.153)—a peace, however, that is the result of military victory.

This is neither the dominating Mars Ultor who stood in the cella and pediment of the temple in the Forum of Augustus (E. Simon 1986a, 50 fig. 52; cf. Rehak 1985, chap. 6 and conclusions), nor the youthful, beardless Mars of the “Augustus” cup from Boscoreale (Kuttner 1995, 32–34, pls. 2, 3, 18, 28). This Mars is usually viewed as the ancestor of the Roman race and of the Julian family (e.g., Croon 1981; Freibergs et al. 1986, 10; Siebler 1988; Hobbold 1995), but since the west façade of the Ara Pacis faced toward the Campus Martius, I suggest that he can be better understood as the eponymous divinity of the Campus. On the so-called Domitius Ahenobarbus Monument (ca. 100), a similar Mars stands next to an altar at a sacrifice that probably commemorates the lustrum in the Campus Martius at the closing of a census. His ancient altar (the Ara Martis) was founded by King Numa to the south of the Ara Pacis, near the Villa Publica and the Saepta, where the comitia centuriata also voted; there, the census of Roman citizens was performed. Thus, it is the Mars of the Campus Martius who is the god of the oldest Roman civic, as well as military, institutions.

In the center of the scene is the trunk of a fig tree. On one branch of the tree, the claws of a bird are visible, probably Mars’s woodpecker (*picus*). The tree trunk introduces a strong vertical element of landscape into the scene and serves as a focusing device, while alluding to one of the most important, if not precisely located, sites of legendary Rome. Some have situated the famous *figus ruminalis* in the Forum Romanum; others, at the foot of the Germalus, a spur of the Palatine Hill near the Lupercal (the cave where the wolf had nursed the twins), which Augustus restored (*Res Gestae* 4.19).

Although the central part of the panel is missing, the restoration of the she-wolf and babies in the center of the scene appears reasonable. The theme had a long history. A bronze mirror from Bolsena (ca. 340–330) may carry the earliest depiction of the story (Wiseman 1982; 2001, 184–85, fig. 1; Adam and Briquel 1982; cf. Dulière 1979). In 296 a bronze group of the wolf and twins was erected near the *figus ruminalis* in the Forum; it has not survived, but it appeared frequently on Republican coins and may have inspired Vergil's description of the wolf with twins on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.630–34). The surviving Etruscan bronze statue of the *lupa romana* (the twins are a Renaissance addition) has been dated between the sixth and fourth century—its original location in the city is unknown (cf. Magi 1982–84).

For an Augustan audience, however, the significance of the Romulus and Remus panel may have been twofold: these are special children who herald the return of a peaceful Golden Age, and they survived under unusual circumstances to achieve great deeds as adults. Romulus was frequently appropriated by Rome's leaders (Classen 1962; Porte 1981; Radke 1981), first by Sulla and then by Pompey, Cicero, and Caesar (Kornemann 1938; Burkert 1962; Weinstock 1971). Each of these men had been hailed as the “new Romulus” (A. Alföldi 1951), but Augustus made a special effort to connect himself with that original founder, particularly in the period preceding his adoption of the title Augustus in 27 (Gagé 1930; Merkelbach 1960; Pietrusinski 1975; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1997, 86). When Octavian assumed his first consulship in 43 and took the auspices, he received the same portent of twelve birds in flight (vultures this time) as Romulus did when founding the city (Suetonius *Aug.* 95). And later he deliberately established his own residence on the Palatine near the traditional Hut of Romulus, where the augural staff of Romulus was discovered, perfectly preserved.

“Aeneas/Numa”

The southern panel on the west end (fig. 38) is relatively well preserved (Koeppel 1987, 110–11; Rehak 2001a). In the center foreground is an altar consisting of a pile of rough, unworked stones draped with a garland of leaves. Behind the altar the trunk of an oak tree with foliage divides the scene in two. At the right two adult men stand side by side. To the left of the altar, the elements are compressed and occupy at least three overlapping planes of relief: in the background a low hill surmounted by a temple, in the middle distance two youthful attendants, and in the foreground a sow.

Traditionally, the panel has been identified as representing the sacrifice of Aeneas on his arrival in Latium. In the literary accounts (e.g., Vergil *Aen.* 8; Varro *Rust.* 2.4, *Ling.* 5.144; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.66), Aeneas sacrifices an enormous white sow that had just given birth to thirty piglets at the site of the future town of Lavinium (a marble relief in London includes the sow, the city, the hero, and his ship; Ackermann and Gisler 1981–97, 1.1:391 no. 168, pl. 307; Galinsky 1983; Settis 1988, 411 fig. 190).

The sacrificant to the right of the altar is most prominent figure in the panel because of his position near the center and the frontal pose of his body. He is mature,

Figure 38

barefooted, and bearded, dressed in archaic costume, the *toga sine tunica*, which leaves most of his chest and right shoulder and arm bare. He wears the *toga capite velato* over a laurel wreath, which only Augustus wears in the south frieze. Although the bearded figure possesses a muscular, classicizing body, his torso has begun to thicken and his deep-set eye and pronounced naso-labial fold indicate that he is middle-aged, a rare feature that must represent a deliberate element of his character (cf. figures in the south frieze: S-23 a flamen, S-28 Agrippa, and S-44 an older man; in the north frieze: N-39 an old woman). In the crook of his left arm he cradles a long staff, probably a scepter, since a spear would be inappropriate for a togatus at a sacrifice (Weinstock 1960, 57); and he extends his right hand (now missing) over the altar, probably pouring a libation from a patera.

Like Vergil's Aeneas (*Aen.* 3.403–5), this mature sacrificant is veiled, but the rest of Aeneas's iconography in the late Republic and early imperial period has him beardless, young, and armored (Galinsky 1969; Ackermann and Gisler 1981–97, 1:381–96 s.v. Aeneas; Hoffer et al. 1988, 411 fig. 190; Zanker 1988, 201–10). To explain the differences between the standard iconography of Aeneas and the individual on the relief, S. Weinstock (1960, 57–58) has suggested that the Ara Pacis depicts not the hero's sacrifice on arrival in Italy, but a later one when Aeneas is a venerable king and his son Iulus/Ascanius is grown. This interpretation, however, ignores the traditional connection of the sacrifice with a foundation myth. E. Simon and P. Zanker have argued instead that the rendering of our sacrificant is an attempt to show *pater Aeneas* as precursor of Augustus (E. Simon 1967, 23; Zanker 1988, 204). But Augustus did not assume the honorific title of *pater patriae* in Rome until 2, at the dedication of the Forum of Augustus (*Res Gestae* 6.35), seven years after the Ara Pacis was completed. The idea that Aeneas on the Augustan Altar of Peace would require an entirely new iconographic type seems to be special pleading.

The second adult man, at the far right of the scene, is only partially preserved. He wears a long-sleeved tunic with a mantle fastened on the right shoulder; the sensitively rendered fingers of the right hand support another long, straight staff with a slightly knotty surface where small branches have been trimmed away; it is thus not a spear (*pace* Rose 1990, 462) or a shepherd's crook (*pace* Zanker 1988, 204), but more likely another scepter. The long sleeve implies that he is not a Roman, and the position of his shoulder—almost level with that of the sacrificant in the center—shows that he must be an adult and that the two men are equals, not father and son (*pace* Weinstock 1960, 57; E. Simon 1967, 23; Torelli 1982, 37; 1999a, 71; La Rocca 1983, 40; D. Kleiner 1992, 93). This second man is usually identified as Achates, the companion of Aeneas (Studniczka 1909, 923; Moretti 1948, 153; Toynbee 1953, 78; Koepfel 1987, 111 no. 4; Billows 1993).

On the left side of the panel, two boyish, barefooted attendants approach the altar, clad in short tunics and wearing laurel wreaths. The figure on the far left bends forward slightly, and urges on a small sow, the sacrificial victim. Closer to the center,

slightly overlapped by the altar, stands the second attendant with a fringed *manetele* draped over the left shoulder; with his left hand he holds up a fluted tray (*lanx*) with offerings of fruit and cakes near shoulder level, and in his right hand he holds a pitcher (*guttus*) of metal. The ritual items have parallels elsewhere on the Ara Pacis, indicating that this is a specifically Roman ceremony (Stewart 1997).

Because of their costume and attributes, the two attendants have been identified functionally as a *victimarius* at left and a *camillus* at right. The *victimarius* has a noticeably square, blocky head on a thick neck with a pronounced adam's apple, and a tunic unfastened in the *exomis* fashion, which leaves the right shoulder bare and exposes part of the chest, now mostly sheared away. The *camillus* has a more rectangular head with a higher forehead, delicate features, and no adam's apple, and he wears a short-sleeved tunic that covers the entire chest. More distinctive is his coiffure: over the top of the head, long locks of hair are plaited together in a braid that falls in a loop behind the occiput, with its end secured to the rest of the braid by a small band or fillet. This unusual hairstyle, derived from Hellenistic sculpture, is characteristic of Roman *camilli*; presumably it would be cut late in adolescence as a rite of passage (Herrmann 1993, 304–7; Fless 1995).

Such physiognomic differences have led scholars to identify the two boys either directly or metaphorically as Gaius and Lucius Caesar (born 20 and 17, respectively), although at the time the altar was being constructed (13–9), they would have been too young. Nor is the *camillus* likely to represent Iulus/Ascanius, since *camilli* had to have two living parents (*pace* Rose 1990, 462, 465–66; 1997, 16), and Creusa died in the sack of Troy.

In the foreground, the sow moves toward the altar from the left; her fragmentary condition does not allow us to determine if she is pregnant (*pace* Ryberg 1949, 80). Despite damage to the surface, however, it is clear that this is a sow: her teats show clearly against the background (G. Moretti 1948, pl. XV). The surviving traces of her trotters indicate that she is on her feet, being urged forward, as in depictions of the *suovetaurilia* on the late Republican “Domitius Ahenobarbus” Monument and the Julio-Claudian relief in the Louvre (D. Kleiner 1992, 142 fig. 117). Small and without her piglets, she cannot be the immense sow prophesied to Aeneas. Sculptors were indeed capable of depicting piglets (cf. the early imperial Belvedere altar in the Vatican; Galinsky 1969, 24–25, fig. 18; Zanker 1969), and if this were the prophesied sow, she herself would have been the focus of the panel, not an accessory to the true focus: the central altar.

We know of relatively few sacrifices of single pigs or sows that would be appropriate for depiction on a state monument; single pigs were offered in private cult to the household gods (e.g., Bulard 1926, pl. XVIII), and the public *suovetaurilia* sacrifice combines the offering of a boar with a bull and a ram. But during the celebration of the Secular Games in 17, Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow to the earth goddess, Terra Mater, as part of his inauguration of Rome's new age, and a coin of the next year

depicts two men wearing togas capite velato holding a small sow over an altar, a reference to the archaic peace treaty between Rome and the town of Gabii during the time of the Etruscan kings (Gross 1985, 41, n. 69; Zanker 1988, 169 fig. 134; Fullerton 1985, 474, n. 12, pl. 55, fig. 1). The coin was reissued in 13, the year the Ara Pacis was founded, and I shall return to it below.

In the upper background is a small temple on a hill containing two seated divinities. Considerable attention has been devoted to the shrine's architectural detail. The highly detailed architecture of the building stands in marked contrast to the rustic altar in the foreground of the panel, but a garland draped across the shrine's open façade creates a thematic and visual link between the two.

The entrance to the shrine is closed not by the paneled doors characteristic of temples but by a pair of low gates carved to represent wickerwork. Behind these gates we can see the two seated figures holding long staffs. Despite their small scale, it is clear that the figures are draped but have bare, muscular chests; the figure on the left preserves a beard, and both heads turn slightly toward each other as if they are assenting. This pair of divinities cannot represent those mentioned in our three literary sources. According to Vergil, Aeneas's sacrifice is to Juno; in Varro it is to the household gods; and Dionysius specifies that a shrine was erected to the Penates after the sacrifice took place (Penates are typically represented as two youths in military garb, holding spears: e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.68.2). Instead, this seated pose is typical of major male deities such as Jupiter, Dis/Pluto, and Janus Quirinus.

If this panel does not depict the sacrifice of Aeneas at the founding of Lavinium, an inappropriate occasion for this Altar of Peace in Rome, what else could it represent? I suggest a scene involving Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome and the city's great civil and sacred lawgiver.

According to tradition, Numa was one of the greatest kings of regnal Rome. Two of his most important religious acts can be located in the Campus Martius, near where the Ara Pacis stood: a sacrifice to Mars to confirm the *concordia* between the Romans and Sabines (Festus 372M [510L]) and his establishment of Fetial Law, which provided specific rules for waging a just war (*bellum iustum*) against foreign enemies and for framing terms for the establishment of peace (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.72.1–9; Cicero *Off.* 1.36 and 3.108, *Leg.* 3.9; Varro *Ling.* 5.86; Plutarch *Num.* 12.3–7, *Cam.* 18; Livy 1.20.4, 1.24.7–9, 1.32.9; Samter 1909; T. Frank 1912; Wissowa [1912] 1971, 550–54; Bayet 1935; Latte 1960, 121–24; Magdelain 1984; Broughton 1987; Penella 1987; Rüpke 1990, 97–117; Watson 1993; cf. Saulnier 1980).

Under the Republic, the Fetiales were a college charged with overseeing the declaration of war and the establishment of peace. Before Rome declared war against an enemy, restitution (*rerum repetitio*) was demanded in a formal procedure that allowed the opponent thirty (or thirty-three) days to respond; the formula (as quoted by Livy 1.32.6–10) specifically invoked Jupiter and Janus Quirinus, as well as other gods (Burck 1940; Harris 1979, 166–75, 269; cf. Wiedemann 1986). If no satisfactory answer was

forthcoming, the Fetiales convened; one member, acting for the rest, threw a spear into or toward the hostile territory, and war was declared. This ceremony, which originally took place at the border, was later located at a freestanding column, the *columna bellica*, in the precinct of Bellona outside the pomerium in the southern Campus Martius, where a small plot of land was designated as “foreign territory” in perpetuity. If reparations were made in time, war was averted, and peace was established. To seal a treaty of peace under Fetial Law, the Romans sacrificed a sow, as depicted on the coin of 16 and its reissue of 13 mentioned above; thus, Vergil describes the sacrifice of a sow to mark the peace between the Sabines and Romans, as represented on the shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.639–41). In later years, the emperor Claudius, who was scrupulous about observing Roman religious traditions, sacrificed a sow in the Roman Forum whenever he made a peace treaty with a foreign power (Suetonius *Claud.* 25.12).

Although the Fetial Law was invoked a number of times during the Republic, the practice seems to have fallen into disuse before Octavian revived (and perhaps reshaped) the tradition in 32 before the Battle of Actium. To establish the justness of his war against Antony, Octavian staged the Fetial ceremony in the Campus Martius, and perhaps himself threw the traditional spear over the *columna bellica* on behalf of the Fetiales (Cassius Dio 50.4.4; cf. Livy 1.32.5–14; Ovid *Fasti* 6.205–7; *Res Gestae* 4.7)—this scene is reproduced (if not precisely) in the 1963 movie *Cleopatra*. There is, however, no evidence that the college was actually sent to Alexandria to demand *rerum repetitio*, as tradition demanded: Octavian’s ceremony was a symbolic gesture to impress the people of Rome (just as Alexander the Great threw a spear into Asia as he landed on Asian soil; Justin 11.5.10; cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.17.2; Zahrt 1996).

The Ara Pacis panel, I suggest, shows King Numa, originator of the Fetial Law, sacrificing a sow with a foreign king to guarantee peace. To seal the pact, an oath was sworn to the celestial and infernal gods as witnesses, here represented *pars pro toto* by Jupiter and Dis, or Jupiter and Janus Quirinus. The gods are guarantors of the oath, not the recipients of the sacrifice. Moreover, the rustic altar that serves as the compositional focus at the center of the scene would be the first “Altar of Peace” in Rome and the forerunner to the Augustan monument. If this interpretation is correct, then the two young sacrificial attendants could even be the sons of the two kings, though this identification is not a requirement for the interpretation proposed here.

Although Numa remains relatively obscure to us, he was well known to those of Augustus’s day, particularly after the publication of the first book of Livy’s history of Rome, ca. 27–25 (Syme 1959). His iconography as a mature, bearded male was well attested numismatically in the first century (Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 82–83; Petrillo 1996). The composition on one coin (Crawford 1974, no. 334) is somewhat reminiscent of the one on the Ara Pacis relief: a togate Numa holding an augural *lituus* to the left of a flaming altar while a victimarius introduces a goat from the right. In the Augustan period, the *tresviri monetales* responsible for minting new coins issued a commemorative medallion in 23 which showed the head of Augustus on one side and the bearded

head of Numa on the other, stressing the connection between the two (Galinsky 1996, fig. 18; Kellum 1998, 518). The connection between the two men could even be demonstrated genealogically: Augustus's adoptive father, Caesar, claimed descent on his mother's side from King Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa (Suetonius *Iul.* 6.1).

THE LONG FRIEZES

Figure 39

The north and south long friezes of the Ara Pacis (figs. 39–46) are the same height as the end panels (1.55 m) but nearly four times as long (9.70 m), and very different from them in terms of composition and style (e.g., Domaszewski 1903; Starczuk 1938; Toynbee 1953, 81–89; Pollini 1978, 99–122; Koeppel 1982a, 483–86; Conlin 1997). They depict two parallel processions of men, women, and children moving from east to west, as if walking along the sides of the Ara Pacis from the Via Flaminia toward the pavement of the Horologium-Solarium and its obelisk.

Approximately one hundred individuals were represented originally, divided nearly equally between the two sides. In contrast to the more focused compositions in the panel reliefs, which can be easily grasped by the viewer's eye, the length of the processions and the considerable overlapping among the figures force the spectator to move, and to move slowly, along the frieze.

Several sources of inspiration have been adduced for the long friezes, Greek, Etruscan, and Republican Roman (Koeppel 1982b, 1985b). Many scholars compare the Ara Pacis friezes to those of the Parthenon and other classical buildings (e.g., Neils 1999, 16), though there are considerable differences in terms of size, visibility, and content. The style, however, is indeed comparable, for the artists of the Ara Pacis deliberately classicized their figures. But since this agreement on style suits our own taste, modern art historians tend to pair the monuments as high points of the two cultures, thereby implying that good Roman art is only a reflection of the Greek.

In terms of composition, the Ara Pacis elects to depict only a portion of what other friezes give in full. Most long friezes depicting a religious procession represent it entirely (Younger 2000). On the Parthenon, for instance, a double line of figures moves toward a sacred location where the gods are present: priestesses lead, followed by people bringing sacrificial animals, bearers of sacred implements, musicians, officials, and finally the general (male) populace (Robertson and Frantz 1975). Abridged versions of this arrangement can be seen on a multitude of monuments dating from the early Greek period (e.g., the painted wooden plaques from Pitsa near Corinth: Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 101 col. fig.) to the compressed scenes in the panels of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine. What the Ara Pacis does, however, is unusual: the long friezes present only the section of the religious procession that consists of religious and administrative officials and members of the extended family of Augustus; it omits everything else: the musicians, the animal victims, and the general public.

There are few parallels for this selective abridgment. Late Classical and Hellenistic votive reliefs present a number of shared features: men, women, and children, some in poses that suggest personal intimacy (e.g., hand-holding), the carving of figures in two or more tiers of relief, and the framing of the scene by pilasters (e.g., C. M. Edwards 1985). The Xenokrateia relief from Piraeus (ca. 410), for instance, portrays draped adult figures and undersized children processing, with considerable overlapping toward a group of divinities (Guarducci 1949–51, 1974; Linfert 1967; Ridgway 1981, 132–34, fig. 97; Kaltsas 2002, 133 no. 257). The artists of the Ara Pacis would not necessarily have had to go far to see Greek votive reliefs; several have been found in the neighborhood of Rome (Kuntz 1994).

Closer in time to the Ara Pacis come two late Etruscan tomb paintings at Tarquinia, the Tomba Bruschi and the Tomba del Tifone (both first half of the second century); they include overlapping togate or mantled figures, and adults along with properly sized children (Holliday 1990, 80 fig. 6 and 91 fig. 7, respectively). With these, G. Koeppel has associated a travertine relief from Rome with a similar procession of magistrates, datable to ca. 100 (1985b, 97, fig. 6). Such Italic sources inspired by funerary models are attractive given the funerary use of the Campus Martius and the proximity of the Ara Pacis to Augustus's Mausoleum.

Such threads—votive, funerary, classicizing—come together in the first century, when local Italian artists, influenced by late Hellenistic votive and funerary reliefs, began to produce grave stelai that show Roman men, women, and children in various groupings (Zanker 1975; Frenz 1977). Many of these were set up alongside the roads leading into and out of cities and towns, settings that are similar to the location of the Ara Pacis. On these monuments, however, the figures are often nearly frontal, facing outward, as if inviting contemplation from the spectator. The Ara Pacis figures, by contrast, engage with one another and ignore their viewers.

Meaning in the Roman Representation of the Human Figure

In Roman relief, meaning is conveyed through details of pose, gesture, arrangement, scale, costume, hairstyle, and jewelry (Wilson 1938; Scholz 1992; Sebesta and Bonfante 1994). Although these features seem obvious ones for analysis, they have received scant attention as a whole in many discussions of the Ara Pacis friezes. Instead, many scholars have focused on identifying the individuals in the friezes according to their portraits in other media (e.g., Poulsen 1946; Fabbrini 1955; Hanell 1960; E. Simon 1967; Gercke 1968; Pollini 1978; Torelli 1982; Holloway 1984; Bender 1985).

A couple of caveats, however, are in order before we try to identify individuals on the Ara Pacis. First, not all elements in the friezes are original. During a renovation of the monument, possibly in the second century CE, some figures may have been recarved and a number of individuals were given incised pupils (Hannestad 1994; cf. Claridge 1997). From the seventeenth century on, portions of the friezes have been considerably restored (e.g., by Francesco Carradori in the 1780s), especially heads and

hands holding attributes. Second, there is considerable overlapping among figures: so much that it is sometimes difficult to match heads along the top of the scene with the feet and hands that emerge from the voluminous drapery. (The scene was perhaps less confusing when the frieze was painted.) This problem is exacerbated by at least two incorrect joins, introduced when the altar was hastily reconstructed in the 1930s. As a result, at least one male figure has dropped out of the north frieze (Koeppel 1992), and in the south frieze the drapery of S-36 (Antonia Minor) may have been joined erroneously to that of a male figure who has likewise been omitted (Conlin 1992; Cohon 2002b). And, third, although Roman portraiture has been much studied (e.g., Curtius 1932; Hiesinger 1973; Breckenridge 1981; Boschung 1993a, 1993b; Gregory 1994), none of the preserved heads in the friezes seem particularly close to the established portrait types, an indication at least that the carvers of the friezes were not portraitists.

The most common dress for adult male citizens is the toga worn over the tunic; when pulled over the head (*capite velato*), it usually indicates that its wearer is about to offer sacrifice. Children of both sexes wear tunics and the *toga praetexta*, whose purple stripe (*clavis*) was perhaps originally indicated on the reliefs in paint (Gabelmann 1985). The toga was heavily imbued with symbolic meaning (Goette 1989–90; Freyburger-Galland 1993; Stone 1994; Christ 1997). Cicero and Ovid use it as a metonym for peace (*De or.* 3.167; *Met.* 15.746–47); Vergil identifies the toga-wearing Romans as masters of the world (*Aen.* 1.282); and Augustus ordered citizens to wear the toga when they entered the Roman Forum (Suetonius *Aug.* 64.2). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the Ara Pacis includes more togati than any other Roman state monument.

Women substituted a mantle, *palla*, for the toga, and draped it over a long tunic that falls to the feet. Like the toga, the *palla* too could be pulled over the head to veil it. The women on the friezes do not, however, wear the modest *stola*, a long garment with shoulder straps, resembling a modern slip, that was worn over the tunic (Scholz 1992; *pace* Claridge 1998, 188); it was the typical symbol of matronly respectability on contemporary tombstones and portraits, and its absence from the Ara Pacis is noteworthy.

Young sacrificial attendants (*camilli*), like the one on the Numa panel, wear short tunics without the toga; they usually also have a cloth with a flocked surface and a fringed border (*mantele*) draped over one arm (Siebert 1999, no. 69). One boy and several women in the north frieze (e.g., S-10, N-7, N-24) wear a plain cloth garment with fringed borders, but this seems to be a different article of clothing.

Although jewelry is an important indicator of rank and wealth on Roman grave stelai, such personal adornment appears infrequently in the friezes: a few adult men and children wear rings, one woman wears earrings, and one special little girl (N-41) has earrings plus an elaborate necklace with pendants. Several boys wear *bullae*, protective amulets of Etruscan origin, on cords around their necks (Goette 1986; Palmer 1996); two foreign children wear torques. A number of figures wear laurel wreaths or carry laurel sprigs.

Specialized attributes identify the roles of some individuals (fig. 40): lictors on both sides of the monument hold the *fascēs* as symbols of temporal or religious authority, the *lictor flamineus* in the south frieze carries a sacrificial ax (*sacena*), and camilli grasp a variety of objects: incense boxes (*acerrae*), a *patera*, a pitcher (*guttus*), and a tray (*lanx*) with offerings (Siebert 1999, nos. 1, 26, 28, 35, 52). One of the flamines wields the *comoetaculum*, a short wand meant to prevent contact with another person (Siebert 1999, no. 73). Relatively few figures wear the high-topped boots of patrician senators (*calcei senatorii*), even though individuals like Agrippa (S-28) were entitled to do so.

Most hairstyles are conventional (Wegner 1938; Furnée-van Zwet 1956; Levine 1995). Men tend to wear their hair in short, curling locks, and some younger men have sideburns, carved in relief or lightly incised into the surface of their faces. Contemporary female hairstyles featured the *nodus* or knot of hair over the forehead and a tress, braid, or fillet drawn over the top of the head, but most of the women on the Ara Pacis have classicizing coiffures instead, with the hair parted in the center and brushed along the sides of the head to the back, where it is gathered in a knot or bun, sometimes secured by wrapping a braid around it. One woman (S-32) has strands of hair that hang along the sides of her neck like “Tellus” on the end panel. The little girl with jewelry in the north frieze wears a Hellenistic rather than a Roman hairstyle, the so-called melon coiffure, in which parallel braided strands or twists of hair are pulled to the back of the head and gathered there (Schmidt 1970; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, no. 40); the hairstyle is often worn by Hellenistic queens (D. B. Thompson 1973).

Selected figures draw attention to themselves through their placement in the foreground, their greater height, or their pose and gesture. Several are nearly frontal, without much overlapping by other figures; they thus interrupt the smooth flow of the processions. Some foreground figures appear especially prominent, not only because they stand framed by figures that encircle them, but also because other individuals turn their heads to look at them.

There are few distinctive gestures (Graf 1992; Corbeill 2004). Some adults hold children by the hand, as on Augustan grave monuments and the Boscoreale cups; two older women shush children. An adult’s hand on a child’s head can be a sign of protection or affection. Adults turn their heads when listening or speaking to one another; this turn of the head may suggest intimacy, as between husband and wife.

The South Frieze

Compositionally, the south frieze is divided into three parts by the presence of two togati who appear capite velato and whose preserved heads have recognizable portrait features: Augustus (S-16; fig. 39) and Agrippa (S-28; fig. 41). In front of Augustus the first third of the procession is fragmentary, consisting mainly of lictors, a few togati, and a camillus (S-10) in a long mantele carrying a rectangular acerra (E. Simon 1986a, fig. 41; Torelli 1982, 44–45). The lictors are a clear sign not only of Augustus’s imperium maius, which exceeded that of all his contemporaries, but also of his religious

Figure 40

Figure 41

authority (Hanell 1960; Gladigow 1972), especially if this part of the frieze was carved after he became pontifex maximus in 12 (discussed below); from 19 on, Augustus was entitled to 12 lictors at all times and in all places (Cassius Dio 54.10.5). The middle third of the procession (fig. 40; E. Simon 1986a, fig. 45), framed by Augustus and Agrippa, includes the *rex sacrorum* (S-17), the four *flamines maiores* (S-20, S-22–24), the lictor flameus who carries the *sacra* (S-26), and more togati. Festus (198L) gives the ranking of the priests as the *ordo sacerdotum*, but the arrangement in the middle third of the south frieze does not follow his order exactly (Lewis 1955; Koeppel 1983, 1985a; Billows 1993, 84–87). Behind Agrippa in the last third of the procession (fig. 42) are a group of women, children, and men who have been identified as members of the imperial family (Rehak 2004).

Of the individuals in both friezes, only Augustus and Agrippa are immediately recognizable on the basis of their portraits. Augustus is distinguished by the “claw-lock” of hair over his forehead (the lower part of his face is damaged; Hausmann 1981; Pollini 1999). The insistent depiction of the princeps as a veiled togate figure is a new feature in Roman portraiture, best exemplified by the Via Labicana statue now in the Palazzo Massimo (fig. 22; E. Simon 1986a, figs. 75–77; D. Kleiner 1992, fig. 41).

Agrippa is recognized by his blocky head, deep-set eyes, and furrowed brow, traits that conform with the second series of his portraits (Reinhold [1933] 1965; Johansen 1971; Fabbrini 1980; Roddaz 1980, 1984; Boschung 1993b, 50; Balty and Cazes 1995; Romeo 1998, 192–93; cf. J. Anderson 1998, 39–40). His veristic portrait follows a late Republican and Hellenistic tradition, marking a noteworthy departure from idealization or Augustan classicism (Smith 1981). The close personal and political association between the two men is emphasized by their veiled heads (cf. Trillmich 1986), though Augustus also wears a wreath, which Agrippa lacks. Agrippa’s prominence is further emphasized by his relative scale, for he is unmistakably the tallest figure in the south frieze, and by his surrounding group of framing figures. This sculptural emphasis on both Augustus and Agrippa recalls their nearly equal political status in 13: both held the tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*), and they were *collegae imperii*, though Augustus was clearly the dominant partner. Just four years earlier, the two men had officiated jointly as supernumerary *quindecimviri* in the celebration of the Secular Games.

Augustus must be portrayed in his role as pontifex maximus, the supreme head of the Roman state religion (Bowersock 1990; Carter 1991), although he cannot be recognized as such, since the office did not entail wearing any distinctive headgear or carrying attributes. The previous pontifex maximus was the triumvir Lepidus, who died in 13/12; Augustus became pontifex maximus on 6 March 12. Since the work on the Ara Pacis had by then been going on for less than a year, it is unlikely that the Augustus we see had been completed before he assumed the pontificate.

Agrippa was probably already dead when his portrait was carved. He was alive in 13 but died in Campania early in 12, probably a week or two after Augustus assumed the high priesthood (Cassius Dio 54.28.1–3; Reinhold [1933] 1965, 126 n. 15). Agrippa’s

inclusion on the monument, when his portrait could have been carved down to represent a more generic individual, must therefore represent a deliberate choice, probably one authorized by Augustus himself. Thus, by the time the Ara Pacis was dedicated in 9, it already testified to a situation in the past, not to one in the present.

The inclusion of Augustus and Agrippa in the same frieze also makes a statement about how they represent Rome. Both men had returned to Rome in 13, Augustus from the western and Agrippa from the eastern provinces (Romeo 1999). They stand in the south frieze, therefore, as poles of the Roman empire, Augustus toward the western end of the procession, Agrippa toward the eastern. Augustus invoked this model a few years later when he sent his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius on missions to the east and west, respectively. And Tiberius also used this topos, having arches to Germanicus set up after his death in CE 19 on the Rhine and at Germanikeia in west Commagene (Castagnoli 1984; La Rocca 1993a; Potter 1987).

Directly behind Augustus stands the rex sacrorum (S-17), formerly identified as one of the two consuls of 13 (Tiberius or Varus; Toynbee 1953, 80). He wears patrician shoes (like the four flamines behind him) and his importance is indicated by the fact that his left arm actually overlaps the figure of the princeps. The rex was one of the most venerable religious officials of Rome; as priest of Janus, his presence on the janiform precinct wall of the Ara Pacis seems especially appropriate (Billows 1993, 86–87).

The four flamines maiores in the middle of the south frieze command the focus: they are framed by the figures of Augustus and Agrippa and stand over the acanthus calyx in the lower register. The flamines wear a distinctive garment with heavy folds, the *laena*, which resembles a poncho, and they have a special leather cap (*galerus*) tied under the chin, decorated over the ears with palmettes, and surmounted by a point mounted on a disk (*apex*). There were four flamines maiores in the Augustan period: the *flamen Dialis* (consecrated to Jupiter), *Martialis* (to Mars), *Quirinalis* (a new Augustan epithet for the deified Romulus as Janus, first used by Horace, *Carm.* 4.15.4–9), and *Iulialis* (instituted by Augustus for the deified Julius Caesar). The office of the flamen Dialis had long been vacant, since Cornelius Merula committed suicide in 87; his successor, Servius Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis, was only appointed in 11. Eventually, after the death of Augustus, a fifth flamen (*Augustalis*) was added for his cult as a divinity (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.10; Cassius Dio 56.46.1–2; Vanggaard 1988).

In this group of four flamines, the flamen Dialis must have been sculpted soon after his appointment by Augustus in 11. Three of the flamines are carved in high relief; the fourth, in low relief (S-23), could easily have been recarved from a background figure (Rehak 2001b). His inclusion represents yet another modification of the original design of the south frieze (cf. Bowersock 1990). That does not mean, however, that S-23 represents Lentulus, the appointed flamen Dialis, but only that a flamen was added to the originally carved three in order to bring the number up to four. The head of S-23, however, is the only one of the flamines to have individualized portrait features, which some scholars have identified as those of Sextus Appuleius, the flamen Iulialis, consul

in 29 and husband of Octavia Major, the emperor's half-sister; he was eventually buried in the Mausoleum (Torelli 1982, 45–47, pl. II.27).

Standing immediately behind Agrippa in the final third of the procession is not his wife, Julia, but a child (S-31) wearing a tunic, torque, and long hair, the last two traits signifying his non-Roman status (cf. La Rocca 1994a, figs. 25–27). This Ara Pacis child was once identified as Gaius or Lucius Caesar, costumed romantically as a Trojan prince (Toynbee 1953, 84; Torelli 1982, 48–49; Zanker 1988, 217–18), but this has come increasingly into question in recent years (Pollini 1987, 22–24). Developing a suggestion originally put forward by E. Simon (1967), C. B. Rose has argued at length (1990) that the boy may represent a barbarian prince being raised at Rome in the aftermath of Agrippa's extended sojourn in the east (hence the child's possessive grasping of Agrippa's toga; cf. Cassius Dio 54.24.4–6). The woman in low relief in the background (S-30) wears a non-Roman diadem and earring; she could be the boy's mother (cf. Toynbee 1953, 85; Bonanno 1976, 185, n. 156), but not the emperor's daughter, Julia (Ryberg 1949, 84; Kähler 1954a, 76).

Assuming that barbarian mother and son are not just genre figures (J. Anderson 1998, 41), but are indeed historical personages, A. Kuttner (1995, 104) identifies them as Iotape of Commagene and her son, Antiochus III; but, as she concedes, Antiochus III received citizenship from Augustus, not from Agrippa. Another, more attractive, identification is Dynamis, queen of (Cimmerian) Bosphoros, and her son Aspyrgos (Rose 1990); her capital at Panticapaeum was renamed Agrippia in his honor (Strabo 11.2.3; Nawotka 1989, 328–29; Parfenov 1996; cf. Romeo 1999). Though the queen had a checkered career, she often referred to herself as “Rome-friendly” (*philorhōmaios*), and minted staters with portraits of Augustus and Agrippa.

Figure 42

In the last third of the procession (fig. 42), two women, S-32 and S-36, stand in high relief in the foreground. Alone of the women in the north and south friezes they are nearly frontal and scarcely overlapped by other figures, an iconographic device to call attention to important people. Figure S-32 is the only woman in the procession to be both garlanded and veiled (cf. “Tellus”); she is also a mirror-image adaptation of the stock sculptural type known as the “Greater Herculaneensis.” The two Herculaneensis types, Greater and Lesser, are named after the two well-preserved copies found in the theater at Herculaneum; the types themselves developed in the Greek world in the late fourth century (Bieber 1962; Sgubini Moretti 1982–83; Rolley 1999, 263–65, figs. 269, 270). Formerly considered to be divine body types appropriate for Demeter and Persephone, the Greater and Lesser figures are now thought to be honorific, appropriate for portraits of priestesses and public benefactresses being honored for their good deeds (*euergasia*; Höghammar 1993, 1997; Kron 1996; C. Vanderpool 1998). The presence of this type on the Ara Pacis, even in a mirror image, may carry similar connotations.

The draped body of S-36 is another stock type, also first devised in the late fourth century for a portrait of the orator Aischines; from the Hellenistic age well into the Roman imperial period, this body type served for the depiction of both men and

women, in relief and in the round (Bieber 1959; E. Richardson and L. Richardson 1966; Goethert-Polaschek 1969). The Greek figures wear the rectangular himation (equivalent to the Roman *pallium*), which is replaced by the semicircular toga on Roman males. One of the best-known examples of the type is the statue (dated by inscription to 138/7) of the Delian magistrate Dioskurides (Marcadé 1969, pls. LXV, LXVIII; Pollitt 1986, fig. 289; Ridgway 2000, pl. 46). By the Augustan period, the body type is used in funerary sculpture (e.g., D. Kleiner 1992, fig. 92; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, no. 145; cf. D. Kleiner and F. Kleiner 1980–81; Kabus-Preishofen 1989, no. 91; Torelli 1997, 152–74, fig. 137).

These two unusual women in the south frieze demand to be identified. When the Ara Pacis was founded, the two most important women in the imperial family were Livia, Augustus's wife, and Julia Major, his daughter by his first marriage, wife of Agrippa, and birth mother of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. The portraiture of Livia is well enough established to see her without much difficulty in S-32, the Greater Herculanensis (E. Strong 1937a, 1937b; Kähler 1954a, 76; E. Simon 1967, 18; Torelli 1982, 50; La Rocca 1983, 25; Syme 1984, 589; Boschung 1993b, 45–47; Wood 1999, 99–105; Davies 2000, 113; cf. Bartels 1963; Perkounig 1995; Winkes 1995, no. 79; Bartman 1998). Her depiction with an honorific stock body makes good sense, given her recognized role as public benefactress and First Lady (the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, composed after the death of her son Drusus in 9, calls her *princeps femina*, the female counterpart to Augustus).

By contrast, Julia's portraiture presents problems, since few of her images are likely to have survived her disgrace and exile in 2 (Boschung 1993b, 48–50). While some scholars identify S-36 as Julia (Poulsen 1946, 4; Toynbee 1953, 82; Coarelli 1974, 274–75; Bonanno 1976, 28), most have identified that figure as Antonia Minor (e.g., A. Small 1990; cf. Kokkinos 1992; Conlin 1997, fig. 13). As the more prominent of the two daughters of Octavia by Mark Antony, Antonia Minor married Livia's son Drusus Major and gave birth to Germanicus in 15. In 13, however, there was nothing to hint at her future fame as the mother of Germanicus (now two) and the emperor Claudius (born in 10) and grandmother of Caligula (born in 14 CE). But if S-36 is Antonia, she may owe her position to the fact that she inherited some of Antony's clientela and had strong connections in the eastern Mediterranean.

If S-32 has been identified correctly as Livia, then the togatus S-34 who follows her might be her son, Tiberius (Ryberg 1949, 85; Kähler 1954a, 76; Simon 1967, 18; Bonanno 1976, 27; Syme 1984, 583), though the figure does not wear the patrician boots of a senator and his extant facial features are not particularly close to those of Tiberius's known portraits (Boschung 1993b, 56–58; J. Anderson 1998, 41). Other scholars see S-34 as Iullus Antonius, Antony's second son and eventual lover of Julia (Poulsen 1946, 5; Toynbee 1953, 85).

Behind S-36 comes the only male in either frieze who wears a military costume, S-39; he has therefore been identified as Drusus Major, Livia's second son, who apparently remained on duty in the western provinces in 13 when Augustus returned to Rome (Curtius 1935, 283–84, pls. 44–50; D. Kleiner 1978, 763; Syme 1986, 152; Boschung 1993b,

51; J. Anderson 1998, 41); he died while still on campaign in 9. His presence in the south frieze seems, however, to confirm that S-36 represents his wife, Antonia Minor; she holds the hand of a young boy togatus wearing a bulla (S-38), generally thought to be Germanicus, born on 24 May 15 (Toynbee 1953, 86; E. Simon 1967, 19; D. Kleiner 1978, 763; Torelli 1982, 48, 50; Syme 1986, 152). Between the heads of the adult couple is the low relief head of a woman (S-37) who touches her lips with a finger, as if enjoining silence (*favete linguis*) to underscore the solemn nature of the procession (Kähler 1954a, fig. 6; E. Simon 1967, 19; Corbeil 2004, 5). A few scholars, therefore, see her as Germanicus's grandmother, Octavia Minor (Riemann 1942; G. Moretti 1948, 231; Toynbee 1953, 86; cf. La Rocca 2002).

Following this group are a veiled woman (S-41) and a man (S-45), usually identified as Antonia Major and her husband, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 16) because of their proximity to Antonia Minor and Drusus (Toynbee 1953, 86). With the adults are a son (S-42; his head is restored) and a daughter (S-43), both togate and wearing bullas (Torelli 1982, 50). The boy grasps the cloak of his uncle, Drusus, an appropriate gesture if indeed he is the son of Antonia Major. R. Syme, however, has argued convincingly that their ages are wrong for the Domitii who later became the father and aunt of the emperor Nero: these must be other children from that family (Syme 1984; *pace* E. Simon 1967, 19; but cf. Pollini 1986).

With them, in low relief in the background, is a man with an extremely large head and aged, portrait-like features (S-44). His specific identity remains elusive. Surely he must be a member of the imperial family, not "Horace" or "Maecenas," as commonly proposed (e.g., E. Simon 1967, 19–20 and Torelli 1982, 47, respectively; cf. Pollini 1986). Finally, one or two additional figures may be missing from the end of the procession.

The North Frieze

The north frieze is organized somewhat differently from the southern one. The front two-thirds of the procession begins with a pair of foreground lictors in high relief (N-1, N-3), followed by togati, perhaps senators, although few wear the distinctive high senatorial boots (fig. 43). Almost all of their heads and hand-held attributes are restorations (E. Simon 1986a, 44 figs. 42–43). Despite the missing heads, the sculptors have introduced a certain amount of individuality to these figures by giving them different drapings of the toga and *sinus*, which falls in a U-shaped pattern of folds in front of the body. Three togati are shown capite velato as sacrificants (N-8, N-18, and N-23); two of them stand next to a camillus, further supporting this identification (cf. fig. 44). The two camilli, N-7 and N-24, both hold incense boxes (*acerrae*), while the former also holds a patera and the latter a pitcher (*guttus*). The second camillus, in late adolescence, is nearly frontal, but he turns his head back, marking a point of transition in the procession. Since he is not overlapped by other figures, he should be an important individual in his own right and perhaps even a member of Augustus's family (Koeppl 1992).

Figure 43

Figure 44

The acerrae in this section of the frieze are interesting because their sides are carved with small figures (Siebert 1999, pl. 8). The one held by N-7 is decorated with a sacrificial bull and a flute-player, symbols of the college of augurs. The acerra of N-24 has a flautist and a bull flanking a tripod altar on the long side of the box, and, on the short end, an attendant carrying a tray (*lanx*) with offerings (E. Simon 1986a, fig. 45); M. Torelli (1982, 45) relates the tripod altar to the oracular tripod of Apollo, which would have been appropriate as a symbol of another college, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who were responsible for the Sibylline Books (Cassius Dio 54.17.1). Thus these details on the boxes could refer to two of the four major priestly colleges traditionally founded by King Numa: the augurs and *quindecimviri*; the other two are the *septemviri* and the pontifices.

A clear break in the procession occurs between N-33 and N-31 (figs. 45–46). These two foreground figures are in high relief but stand completely apart from one another; in the background is an individual (N-32) only sketchily rendered and in such low relief that his elongated body appears to have no organic unity whatsoever. His foot points right, and his head is turned left, marking a major point of transition.

Figure 45, Figure 46

The final third of the procession includes men, women, and children thought to represent additional members of the imperial family, since they occupy a position analogous to that of their counterparts in the south frieze. At the front of this group is a second non-Roman child with long hair, N-35, who may represent a barbarian from the western provinces being raised at Rome (E. Simon 1967, 21; Pollini 1987, 22–24). He reaches up to grasp the drapery of a nearby togatus (N-33) and holds the hand of another (N-34), nearly exposing his own buttocks in the process. Two children in similar poses and costumes appear on the silver “Augustus” cup from Boscoreale (Kuttner 1995, pls. 4, 5, 20, 22). Clearly these children represent an artistic topos, but not necessarily an Augustan creation: compare the reaching pose of the child on the votive relief of Xenokrateia, mentioned above.

Three heavily draped profile women follow, all of them now headless (N-36, N-40, N-44; D. Kleiner 1978, 780 fig. 6; E. Simon 1986a, 21, 76 fig. 92). The treatment of their drapery seems more Hellenistic than Roman in style: the outer mantle is treated as sheer, allowing the folds and creases of the costume underneath to show. The hands of these individuals are mostly swathed with cloth, a stylistic trait that once again suggests that some women in the processions were based on Hellenistic Greek models for public benefactresses (Kabus-Preishofen 1975; 1989, 245–48 no. 56; Özgan 1990).

The first woman, N-36, is veiled and has a fringed garment that hangs down her back, perhaps the *ricinium*, a garment often worn by widows, but not exclusive to them. Several scholars identify her as Augustus’s daughter, Julia, who during the construction of the Ara Pacis was first married to Agrippa, then widowed, then remarried to Tiberius (E. Simon 1967, 21; 1986a, 76, caption for fig. 92). Behind her, N-40, a slightly larger figure, stands framed by a niche of surrounding figures who do not overlap her, suggesting that she too is an important individual, possibly Augustus’s full

sister, Octavia Minor, who died in 11 while the Ara Pacis was being built (E. Simon 1967, 21; 1986a, 75). If so, she may have been retained for the same reasons as Agrippa in the south frieze. A third female figure, N-44, is battered and incomplete; J. Pollini identifies her (1978, 28) as Marcella Minor, mother of Iullus Antonius Minor; her husband may stand behind her, N-46, although he is now represented only by a small fragment of drapery.

Accompanying these women are two individuals who represent the only attempts on the Ara Pacis to portray aged women. A veiled background figure in low relief, N-39, turns her head toward her right shoulder, above which we can see the line of her mouth framed by deep naso-labial folds and creases in her cheeks (G. Moretti 1948, fig. 176; Kähler 1954a, 79 fig. 7; 1954b, 324). One hand, wrapped in her palla, is brought up to the face, as if she is enjoining silence like S-37 in the south frieze. The other, N-43, is a background figure who turns her head fully to the left; although the upper half of her head has mostly sheared away, the sharp line of the tendon in her neck and the deep hollow in her cheek, extending to her throat, show that she is not young. Her hair is gathered in a loose knot at the back of the head (Koeppel 1987, 137 no. 43).

With these women are three foreground children who are likewise portrayed in distinctive ways. One boy, N-38, has been given great sculptural prominence: despite his youth he occupies his own space, and the woman behind him (N-44) extends her laurel sprig over his head like a canopy or crown (Fabbrini 1955, 479–81, pls. IV–V, figs. 7–10; Pollini 1987, pls. 6.3, 6.4). No other child in either frieze is accorded such treatment. He has therefore been considered a strong candidate for Gaius Caesar (E. Simon 1963, 9; 1967, 21; 1986a, 69; Syme 1984, 588; Pollini 1987, 96 no. 4; C. Rose 1990), now that the child behind Agrippa in the south frieze is identified as foreign. The boy inclines his head slightly, and he wears a tunic that slips off his right shoulder (to invoke the Julian family claim of descent from Venus?).

He also wears a fringed (but not flocked) garment thrown over his left shoulder and trailing down his back, echoing the costume of the woman in front of him, N-36. His garment, therefore, is not the mantele of a camillus, as has sometimes been claimed (*pace* Pollini 1987, 25; Koeppel 1987, 137 no. 38). All the other camilli in the long friezes stand with adult togati who could be priests, not—as here—among women and children. The garment might instead be a fancy version of the military cloak (*paludamentum*), like the one that Augustus wears pinned at his right shoulder on an equestrian bronze statue found recently in the waters of the Aegean (Touloupa 1986, 1989; cf. G. Koch 1995). Such a cloak would be especially appropriate for Gaius, since he was presented to the public in 13 when he participated in the equestrian combat of the Troy Game (*lusus Troiae*) during the festival for the completion of the theater of Marcellus (Cassius Dio 54.26.1; Pliny 8.65 gives the date as 11). This role would also explain why N-38, alone of the Roman children in the friezes, does not wear the toga praetexta. In this case, the laurel branch extended over his head might refer to the garland granted the participants (Vergil *Aen.* 5.556).

A very young girl, N-41, follows him (Syme 1986, 152; Conlin 1997, fig. 46). Scholars have proposed various identifications. One possibility is Agrippina Major (D. Kleiner 1978, 764; E. Simon 1986a, 76), who married Germanicus. Another is Vipsania Marcella or, an especially attractive suggestion, Julia Minor, born in 18; both were daughters of Agrippa (Torelli 1982, 52). Julia married L. Aemilius Paullus but was exiled in CE 8 for committing adultery with D. Junius Silanus (Barnes 1981). The girl holds a laurel sprig and wears a tunic under her Roman toga praetexta, but her hair is dressed in the melon coiffure, a popular Hellenistic hairstyle. Alone of the female figures on the Ara Pacis, she wears an elaborate necklace with pendants and a dangling earring, ornaments that are attributes of Venus on some of Octavian's earliest coins (Zanker 1988, 55 fig. 42).

With this group of women and children appears a headless adult male togatus (N-42); the upper edge of his toga is twisted in a way unparalleled elsewhere on the Ara Pacis, although it once again recalls the treatment of drapery in some Hellenistic statuary. He rests his right hand protectively on the head of the little girl with the melon coiffure. One hypothesis is that he represents Iullus Antonius, Antony's son who was raised by Octavia along with the two Antonias, and highly regarded by the princeps until 2, when, embroiled in the scandal that brought down Julia Major, he committed suicide (E. Simon 1967, 21; 1986a, 75; D. Kleiner 1978, 764; Syme 1986, 152). Despite the fact that he was the son of Antony and Fulvia, Iullus held third place in Augustus's affections after Gaius and Lucius and Livia's two sons, Tiberius and Drusus (Plutarch *Ant.* 87).

A fragment of a headless boy togatus (N-45) apparently belongs with this group: like other children in the long friezes, he wears a toga praetexta with a tunic and bulla. In addition, however, he wears a finger-ring, an unusual mark of status for a child; perhaps he represents Lucius Caesar, born in 17, whose dynastic importance was recognized, along with Gaius, on a coin of 13 that shows their heads on the reverse, flanking that of their mother, Julia, and the profile head of Augustus on the obverse (Mattingly 1984, 21–22, pls. 4.3, 4.5; Fullerton 1985; C. Rose 1990; Simpson 1996). Pollini (1987, 24–28) argues that the child is too large for Lucius Caesar and instead suggests Lucius Antonius, the son of Marcella Major, Augustus's niece, and Iullus Antonius (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.44); his death in CE 25 marked the end of Antony's line.

Interpreting the Long Friezes

The interpretation of the long friezes has been much debated (e.g., Pollini 1978; Billows 1993; Crook 1996a, 96). Three issues consistently come to the fore: who is represented and why, what is the meaning of the procession, and to what degree can the scenes be considered a historical record of an actual ceremony (presumably in 13 or 9)? These problems are intertwined.

It is sobering to realize that of the hundred or so Romans represented in the two scenes, only two can be identified securely, on the basis of their preserved heads and

known portrait types: Augustus and Agrippa. Seven more can be considered probable: Livia (S-32), Tiberius (S-34), Antonia Minor (S-36) and Drusus (S-39) and one of their children (S-38; perhaps, but not certainly, Germanicus), and Antonia Major (S-41) and her husband, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (S-45). The further identification of another family (Antonia Major, her husband, and their two children) is dependent on their proximity to the family of Antonia Minor. Two more individuals in the south frieze have portraitlike features (S-23, who may be Sextus Appuleius as flamen Iulialis, and S-44, who remains unidentified). Most scholars accept as a working hypothesis that Julia and Gaius and Lucius Caesar are somewhere on the monument because of their dynastic importance at the time, and probably in the north frieze because there is no room for them in the south frieze.

The identification of the rest is mostly hypothetical. Sixteen secure or probable identifications out of 100 figures makes simple math—16 percent. It is possible that some individuals were identified by painted labels (as G. Koeppel has suggested in public lectures), but the preponderance of bland, classicizing heads among the originals strongly suggests that the intent of the designers of the Ara Pacis was *not* to provide a literal “picture gallery” of Augustus’s family and circle (*pace* Crook 1996a, 96).

Some simple number crunching also disposes of another theory: that the friezes constitute a visual reflection of Augustus’s social policies, which encouraged marriage and procreation (E. Strong 1939; R. Frank 1975; D. Kleiner 1978; Raditsa 1980; Galinsky 1981). Although the friezes are innovative in their inclusion of women and children on a Roman state monument, men account for 75 percent of the individuals represented, while women make up just 15 percent and children 5 (the remaining 5 percent comprises missing figures or those of indeterminate sex). The friezes thus consistently emphasize men, who make up the front two-thirds of each procession; women and children, numerically and compositionally, come last. (Shortly after the Ara Pacis, however, women and children begin to be represented as statues on triumphal arches: Flory 1998.) With only one “family group” at all convincingly identified (Antonia Minor’s), it is interesting that none of the very important family groups is shown as a unified cluster of figures: Augustus does not stand with Livia and their adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar; Agrippa does not stand with Julia and their daughters. If the little girl with the melon coiffure, N-41, is the younger Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, she is not represented with her mother, Julia Major (assuming she is N-36), and the man (N-42) who rests his hand protectively on the child’s head cannot be her father, Agrippa, since he stands in the south frieze (S-28). It is therefore clear that, despite modern wishful thinking, the depiction of clustered family groups was not a primary concern in the friezes.

This conclusion has an important corollary: since the individual families are not grouped, their individual members are scattered throughout the processions. The family that is represented is therefore larger than the individual families; it is an “extended family.” “The Augustan dynastic model seems based on the notion of drawing on an

extended kinship group—what I have sometimes referred to as the ‘mafioso model’ of the family as a homogenized, blended group whose members will help administer the empire and thus run the ‘family business’” (Rehak 2004). It is Augustus’s extended family, generalized to some extent, that is depicted: in other words, Augustan power in the aggregate.

Since Augustus and Agrippa frame the flamines maiores in the south frieze, and since one camillus appears on the south and two more appear on the north, accompanying men who may represent members of the major priestly colleges, it would seem that a second major theme of both processions concerns the priestly apparatus of the Roman state. The collocation of these priestly figures at the front two-thirds of each procession reinforces this notion.

Much discussion about the friezes also concerns the occasion they represent. Is this the actual procession at the establishment (*constitutio*) of the altar of 4 July 13, or a projection for the completion (*dedicatio*) of the altar on 30 January 9? To what extent can the processions be considered “documentaries” as opposed to generic representations of an ideal situation? In a carefully reasoned article, R. Billows (1993) has surveyed the main possibilities and has rejected the idea that the scenes show a specific event in either 13 or 9, or that we see Augustus establishing a sacred area (*templum*) where the permanent structure of the Ara Pacis would be erected, or that the friezes represent a “disguised triumph.” Similarly, he argues against the friezes as recording the installation of Augustus as pontifex maximus (though the princeps probably held the high priesthood by the time his section of the relief was carved). Billows suggests instead that the processions represent a general religious celebration or *supplicatio*. Throughout the course of his principate, as Augustus records in the *Res Gestae* (1.4), he held 55 of these celebrations for successful operations on land and sea by himself or his associates, lasting a total of 890 days (Pompey was the first to celebrate multiple supplications: Hickson-Hahn 2000). The suggestion that the friezes represent a generalized supplicatio, resolves nearly all the issues (Holliday 1990): the inclusion of individuals like Agrippa, who was alive in 13 but died in 12, before the altar was completed, the presence of laurel wreaths and sprigs on the heads and in the hands of some (but not all) participants, and the lack of sacrificial victims, which are not part of a supplicatio.

But it does not resolve one other issue: the destination of the processions. Obviously—since Augustus, Agrippa, and a few others are easily recognizable—it must have been Augustus’s intention that the common viewer of the Ara Pacis should be able to identify at least the most important figures and see the procession as a grand movement sweeping known personages toward some destination. “All forms of procession—military review, presidential motorcade, celebratory parade, civilian protest—consist of power moving through space” (Vale 1992, 9). The destination itself must be the sacrifice implied by the six veiled men, including Augustus and Agrippa, (S-16, S-26, S-28; N-8, N-18, N-23), the flamines, and the camilli. And this impending sacrifice must be the one depicted inside, on the altar itself.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding survey of the parts of the Ara Pacis allows us now to attempt an explanation of the structure as a whole. My own assumptions here have been threefold. First, we can understand the monument only by looking at it as a whole and in the context of its larger setting. Second, the shape of the monument and the content and placement of its decoration all have some connection with the theme of “Augustan Peace,” the name of the monument. Third, and perhaps most important, I assume that any monument must “speak” to the public—common as well as elite—in an established and understood visual language if it is to make its messages clear. Z. Yavetz has argued (1984, 13) that written propaganda directed toward the populace has to be short and to the point, like coin legends; the same should be true of the Ara Pacis.

As to its overall theme, there is general agreement that the Ara Pacis celebrates Augustus’s greatest achievement—the creation of peace throughout the Roman world. In describing the Ara Pacis in the *Fasti* (1.709–20), Ovid also specifically connects the peace that the monument represents with the family of Augustus, not just the princeps. But we must also understand that, for the Romans, “peace” really meant pacification: the successful outcome of war against one’s enemies (Weinstock 1971, 44–50; Linderski 1984; Gruen 1984; Krantz 1989). Closing the Temple of Janus was predicated on the pacification of Rome’s neighbors (Livy 1.19.2; Augustus *Res Gestae* 2.13). The inner altar rests on a base decorated with what are probably personifications of provinces. Peace and war are thus complementary, not diametrically opposed, concepts. Thus, power and its exercise in the new imperium of Augustus frame the main message here (Dräger 1994, 66), and all three concepts—peace, war, and power—are being expressed not just on the human level, but also on the cosmic.

Architecturally the Ara Pacis encloses a Greek type of altar within a Roman janus; the resulting structure is a hybrid. While the purpose of an altar seems obvious as the focus of a sacrifice, and the frieze around it alludes directly to the annual sacrifice which Augustus records in the *Res Gestae*, it is clear that the altar cannot have functioned in the traditional manner. There is simply no room inside the janus for the apparatus of sacrifice. If a real sacrifice was to take place, it had to have been outside the precinct wall (cf. the burning of incense that Ovid mentions in *Fasti* 1.719). Otherwise, the sacrifice is implied on the altar itself, a perpetual sacrifice always ideally taking place.

The figures encircling the base of the altar, if correctly identified as personifications of provinces, suggest that the altar is a metaphor for Rome’s world domination: just as these figures support the altar, so the acquisition of provinces has raised the Roman empire to a new height. While the lion-griffin terminals crowning the upper corners allude to Apollo, they also suggest an element of posthumous heroization—the elevation of Augustus’s peace to the status of an ideal that is precious and requires guarding, like the gold that the griffins guarded.

The janiform enclosure wall and its decoration refer repeatedly to traditional wooden pier and lintel construction and fence palings, but all are now of marble. This is the new Rome, a city physically transformed from wood and brick to marble.

There are other traditional, decorative devices: the swastika meander on the exterior, the interior frieze of bucrania and ribbons, garlands, and paterae, and acanthus on both the exterior and the altar. But in Augustan Rome they have acquired new meaning. The swastika meander unites several Augustan projects; the interior frieze unites the peaceful symbols of fertility and agricultural wealth with the security of a human-divine contract represented by the sacrificial bucrania and paterae, all made permanent in stone. The acanthus encircles the monument and unifies its inner and outer parts; its inclusion of animals and its metamorphizing into other plants and flowers clearly proclaim the fertility of Augustus's regime. Since acanthus had funerary associations, it is impossible to ignore another set of related themes: death, mortality, immortality, and commemoration.

Topping the vegetation are the twenty swans, representatives of Apollo and guardians of the walls of the precinct with their displayed wings. Through their number and their formalized, patterned repetition around the walls of the Ara Pacis they correspond to a cycle of repeating time established by King Numa, at the same time recalling the arrival of Aeneas, the founding of Rome, and the dedication of both the Ara Pacis and the Horologium-Solarium in the twentieth year after the conquest of Egypt.

The mythological panels on the west end facing the Horologium-Solarium show the babies Romulus and Remus watched over by the eponymous god of the Campus Martius and a sacrifice at the first altar of peace, organized by the mature Numa Pompilius. The panels on the east end show an allegory of Peace that unites an empire (imperium) by land and sea and the city-state goddess Roma, framed by protective Roman personifications. The west-end panels thus offer two models of rulership, that of Romulus and that of Numa, while the east-end panels present complementary allegories of peace and war. The northern half, facing away from the city, includes the Romulus and Roma panels, which represent the military imperium exercised outside the pomerium; the southern half of the monument, facing the city, includes the panels with Numa and Pax as symbols of peaceful imperium at home. These frame the south processional frieze, which includes Augustus with priests and lictors, followed by members of the imperial family. To hammer this connection home, Numa and Augustus are the only men who are garlanded and veiled, just as Livia in the south frieze and Pax on the southeast panel are the only women who are garlanded and veiled.

Linking the two sets of end panels, the two long friezes of the outer wall represent a single parade viewed from two sides, but the parade is for an idealized celebration of thanksgiving (supplicatio). Though there are some documentary elements (the retention of Agrippa and Drusus, the insertion of the fourth flamen), the reliefs do not depict any single moment. Rather, the scenes project the process of developing and blending the religious and political institutions in the principate of Augustus, the

sharing of imperium and tribunician power in 13 by two nearly equal men, Augustus and Agrippa, and the participation of all elements of Roman society: male citizens and priests, women and children—even foreigners. The foreign children and the one foreign adult in the procession mark a progressive Romanization: these are no longer captives displayed at a triumph, but participants in the new Augustan order, partly secured by Augustus's and Agrippa's pacification of the west and east.

The Ara Pacis refers to a peace vigilantly maintained by war, personal power, Roman rule, and religion; it is the same kind of peace and the same kind of vigilance that existed in the early days of Romulus and Numa, now reinstated and unified by Augustus to keep Rome strong and Italy fertile. The Ara Pacis is thus a permanent memorial to the achievements of Augustus and the claims of his principate to be both the guardian and guide of the moral, political, and religious renewal of the Roman state and its empire. Such a claim rests on monarchical associations (Galinsky 1996; cf. the earlier views of Syme [1939] 2002; D. Kienast 1999; Mause 1999): the west panels present the two greatest kings of early Rome, implying their fundamental importance in maintaining the Roman state. Cicero was certain that the greatness of Rome rested on the proper observance of the rituals established by Romulus and Numa (*Nat. d.* 3.5). Livy writes, "Thus, two successive kings, each in his own way, one by war, the other by peace, increased [*auxerunt*, a pun on "Augustus"] the nation . . . a nation not only strong, but tempered by the arts of war and peace" (1.21.5; Penella 1987, 234–35). Vergil takes this reference one step further, framing Augustus himself by Romulus and Numa in his prediction of the future greatness of Rome and its empire (*Aen.* 6.777–810; Scott 1925, 97; Rudd 1986).

While Augustus embodies aspects of both Romulus and Numa, his location in the south frieze rather than the north makes it quite clear that the balance on the monument tips in the direction of peace—and the city.

With the identification of the Numa panel, some earlier proposals become untenable. The panel reliefs cannot reflect foundation myths linking the founder of Rome, Romulus, with the origin of the Julian *gens*, Aeneas (Toynbee 1953, 77; Galinsky 1969, 219–26; Holliday 1990, 549; D. Kleiner 1992, 96), a reading prompted largely by the presence of statues of these individuals in the hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus—not all Augustan buildings repeat the same message. Nor can the Ara Pacis panels illustrate the beginnings of Roman institutions with the city represented by the wolf in the Romulus panel, and the Julian family by the sacrificial sow in an "Aeneas" panel (Holliday 1990, 549–50). As noted earlier, the altar, not the animal, is the main focus of the Numa panel. Without the presence of Aeneas, the identification of "Tellus" as his mother, Venus, rather than Pax, becomes unlikely; furthermore, there is no need to connect the Ara Pacis with the theme of Trojan origins or the descent of Augustus from Aeneas (Galinsky 1969, 219, 226; Spaeth 1994, 83). Instead, the Ara Pacis directly honors Augustus and his family, and the achievements of the Augustan principate in war and peace.

Like a janus, the Ara Pacis is a gate, leading visitors from the Via Flaminia along the procession depicted in the friezes, down into the grand plaza of the northern Campus Martius. There, to the south, viewers could see where Augustus was cremated: at his Ustrinum on the hill of Montecitorio, marked by its enclosure wall and grove of poplars. Sweeping their gaze to the north, viewers would see where he was buried: the Mausoleum, Augustus's first construction after Actium (with two obelisks taken from Egypt flanking the entrance), the largest Roman tomb of its day, capable of holding his family and closest friends. If its primacy in Augustus's building program and its size were not enough to make a clear dynastic statement, the eventual inclusion of a monumental inscription of his accomplishments, the *Res Gestae*, should leave no doubt.

In the center of all this was the Horologium-Solarium, whose gnomon was the obelisk that commemorated Augustus's greatest military accomplishment—victory at Actium. As an enormous sundial, it emphasizes not only Augustus's own reorganization of the calendar but also the climacteric points of the solar year, most of which were intimately connected with Augustus's life. On the days of the equinoxes, the shadow of the gnomon would trace a line across the pavement of the sundial directly from west to east, falling at sunset toward the open doorway onto the inner altar of the Ara Pacis, an opening framed by the reliefs depicting the infant Romulus and the mature Numa. Augustus's birthday had already become a public festival and the occasion for a supplicatio after the conquest of Egypt (Cassius Dio 51.19.2–3), but in 13, the year in which the altar was founded, Augustus reached the climacteric age of fifty; and in 9, on 30 January, when the altar was dedicated, Livia turned fifty. The complex of the Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis was therefore a cosmic clock, built to commemorate Augustus's conception, birth, and peak age, his identification with Numa, the first child of the first saeculum, his greatest victory, and his greatest accomplishment, the assumption of the title Augustus.

Imperium and Cosmos

As a showman, none could compete with Augustus in material resources, skill of organization and sense of the dramatic.

—Syme, *The Roman Revolution* ([1939] 2002, 468)

THE FINAL ACT

In 2 BCE Augustus turned sixty and embarked on his final consulship. That age was another climacteric in the ancient world (Pompey had died at sixty; Plutarch *Pomp.* 79.4). A number of important events took place in that year: on 12 May he dedicated the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus (Simpson 1977; G. Alföldi 1991, 294–96; Hannah 1997; Spannagel 1999). Probably at the same time, Gaius Caesar, now eighteen, departed for an extended diplomatic mission in the eastern Mediterranean, and Augustus formally introduced his second adopted son, Lucius Caesar, into public life. At long last, Augustus accepted the honorific title of “Father of His Country” (*pater patriae*) that had been offered to him many times before (the title was already in use in Spain by 6; E. Ramage 1998, 479). The words were engraved at three crucial points around the city: on the pediment of his house, in the Curia Julia, and on the base of a bronze statue of the princeps in a triumphal chariot, set up in the middle of his forum (*Res Gestae* 35). In the same year it seems likely that he completed the penultimate version of his *Res Gestae* as well, and though he would live for another sixteen years (continuing to make slight modifications in the document), the greatest achievements of his life were now behind him.

Augustus’s remaining years were not easy ones, however: “disasters abroad, insecurity at home, scandals in the dynasty” (Syme 1959, 72). The two Julias, mother and daughter, were exiled in 2 BCE and 8 CE, respectively, their immoralities a direct challenge to the social policies promoted by the princeps. After promising beginnings,

Lucius Caesar died in Massilia in 2 CE, and Gaius Caesar in Limyra in 4 CE. Now lacking an heir, Augustus adopted as his sons Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus, the last son of Agrippa and Julia (Levick 1966). The latter was exiled a few years later for incorrigible behavior, and ultimately executed at the beginning of Tiberius's reign. Another tragedy struck when, in 9 CE, Varus lost several legions on the German frontier, putting an end to Roman expansion in that area. Augustus was now becoming aged, and, in his last few years, increasingly infirm.

On 19 August 14 CE, the princeps died in the same country house where his father Octavius had died, at Nola on the northeast side of Mount Vesuvius in the Bay of Naples. He was five weeks short of his seventy-sixth birthday, and had lived in the public eye for almost sixty years, more than two-thirds of them as princeps. Only aged men and women could remember a time when he had not been in power.

Upon his death, plans for the funeral made earlier by Augustus were put into effect (Cassius Dio 56.34–42 gives a detailed account that I incorporate in the following description; see also Suetonius *Aug.* 100; cf. Bickermann 1929; Heidenreich 1951; Richard 1966a, 1966b, 1978, 1980; Kierdorf 1986; S. Price 1987; Arce 1988). The ceremony was highly orchestrated: there would be no repetition of the mob rioting that had disrupted funerals in the late Republic, like that of Caesar almost sixty years earlier (cf. Sumi 1997). Tiberius published an edict insisting on order at the funeral and stationed guards to enforce it (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8).

Following a model established almost a century before at Sulla's death, the body of Augustus was conveyed solemnly to Rome for his funeral, stopping at every town of importance along the route. At Bovillae, the ancestral home of the Julian gens, a deputation of equestrians took charge of the body and conveyed it the rest of the way to Rome, where it was brought to the Palatine at night.

In the city, the Senate met to deliberate on the funerary rites (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8). Tiberius's son Drusus brought in the will, which had been entrusted to the Vestal Virgins, and the freedman Polybius read it aloud. Drusus also produced and read three other documents at this time: Augustus's instructions for his funeral; the *Res Gestae*, "which he wished to have engraved on bronze and posted at the entrance to the Mausoleum"; and a roll listing the armed forces along with a public accounting of finances (Cassius Dio 56.33 also mentions a final set of instructions from Augustus to Tiberius on state policy, which Suetonius omits; Ober 1982).

Next came a discussion of final honors and the route and order that the procession would follow. It was proposed that the funerary procession pass under the Porta Triumphalis and that ahead of the body be carried the titles of the laws he had passed and the names of all the peoples he had subdued. Tiberius excused the Senate from carrying the body, though several senators actually did so. Another proposal was that the name of "August" be moved to the month of September, his birth month, and that the period between his birth and death should be entered in the official calendar as

the “Augustan Age.” (A parody of this occurs after the death of Claudius in Seneca’s *Apocolycintosis*.)

The funeral resembled a triumphal procession (Seneca *Ad Marc.* 3.1). The body of the princeps was placed inside a couch of gold and ivory covered with purple drapery, unambiguously royal, though not without precedent; Julius Caesar had received similar equipment (Suetonius *Iul.* 84.1). Augustus’s couch supported a wax image of the princeps wearing triumphal dress, and this was conveyed to the Forum. A second image of Augustus in gold was brought out of the Curia, along with the statue of Victory from Tarentum, which Octavian had installed after his triple triumph of 29 and draped with the spoils of Egypt (Cassius Dio 51.22.1–2; Suetonius *Aug.* 100.4). A third image was placed on a triumphal chariot, surely the same vehicle used earlier by Octavian for his triple triumph; Nero later employed it for his victorious return to Rome from Greece, when he dedicated the crowns he had won at the base of Augustus’s obelisk in the Circus Maximus (Suetonius *Ner.* 25.1).

Accompanying the procession were images of Augustus’s ancestors from Romulus to Pompey (but excluding for reasons of piety the deified Julius Caesar; Rowell 1990; Flower 1996; Doonan 1999) and personifications of the various subdued nations. This array of real and appropriated figures recalls the images arrayed in the colonnades and hemicycles of Augustus’s Forum and Porticus ad Nationes and those exhibited in Pompey’s theater following his triumph over the “entire civilized world” in 61.

In the Roman Forum, the procession halted; Tiberius delivered one eulogy at the Temple of the Divine Julius from the rostra adorned with the prows of the ships taken at Actium while Drusus delivered the other from the rostra facing it. Tiberius’s speech compared Augustus to Alexander, Romulus, Hercules, Sulla, and Pompey, and listed many of his achievements; some of this may have been excerpted from the *Res Gestae*.

Then the body was conveyed to the Campus Martius along the Via Flaminia, turning west onto Montecitorio. A group of senators carried Augustus’s body through the Porta Triumphalis, followed by other senators, equestrians, the wives of members of both orders, and “practically all who were in the city at that time” (Cassius Dio 56.42). At the Ustrinum atop Montecitorio, the procession halted, and the couch containing the body of the princeps was placed atop the pyre prepared for it. Boys and girls of good family sang the dirge. Members of the various priesthoods solemnly marched around the pyre, followed by the equestrians, and then the soldiers, who ran around it. Finally, the centurions applied torches to the combustibles, and as the flames rose an eagle was released to symbolize the ascent to heaven of Augustus’s spirit. Soldiers threw the triumphal decorations they had received under Augustus into the fire. For five days, Livia tended the pyre; then prominent equestrians gathered his ashes, and the cortege formed again.

From the Ustrinum, the procession continued up the Flaminia, past the Ara Pacis,

to the Mausoleum, where his ashes were deposited. Afterward, men mourned for a period of several days; women for an entire year, as for a father.

DEIFICATION

A month after Augustus's death and a week before his birthday, the Senate met again on 17 September and voted to deify him. At the same meeting Livia was made the *flaminica Augustalis* and assigned her own lictor for the performance of her religious duties, and a new priestly college, the *sodales Augustales*, was established to supervise the rites of the new god. Numerius Atticus, a senator who vowed that he had seen the ascent of Augustus's spirit from the pyre, was awarded a million sesterces, a clear parallel to the claim of Julius Proculus, who had provided similar testimony for Romulus (Suetonius *Aug.* 100.4). Various shrines were vowed and erected to the deified princeps (Rehak 1990). His gold image on a couch received official rites, while his official place of worship, the *templum novum divi Augusti*, was under construction just to the south of the Forum Romanum (Cassius Dio 56.46.3–4; Fishwick 1992a). Since this temple was completed under Tiberius but had not been dedicated when he died in 37 CE, the principal cult of Augustus must have been celebrated in the Forum of Augustus for nearly a quarter-century. A controversial passage in Seneca (*Tranq.* 14.9) suggests that daily sacrifices may also have been offered at the Mausoleum.

What precisely the formal vote for deification meant in Rome has been debated (L. Taylor 1931; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957; Clauss 1999, 44–75). In the provinces the princeps had already been worshipped, first as Octavian and then as Augustus, often in association with Roma. For some decades, the poets had implied a divine status for Augustus. In his *Georgics* 1.24 ff. (29 BCE), Vergil invokes Octavian as a future god in universal terms: he will watch over cities or come as god of the boundless sea or appear as a new star in the space in the sky between Virgo and Scorpio (i.e., in Libra, his birth sign). In the *Aeneid* (before 19), Augustus appears on the shield of Aeneas (8.680–81): his joyous brows pour forth a double flame, and on his head dawns his father's star. Horace celebrates Augustus, destined to be a "present god" (*Carm.* 3.5.1), and describes how libations were offered to him after the evening meal (*Carm.* 4.5.32–34). For Ovid, Augustus ruled earth as Jupiter's representative (*Met.* 15.858–60).

In works of private or court art, Augustus had long been represented with the trappings of royalty or divinity; in public, togate images of the new *divus* wearing the radiate crown of Helios-Sol-Apollo appeared between 14 and 16 in the "*divus Augustus pater*" coin series (Sydenham 1917; Sutherland 1941), and in 22 CE a cult statue in this guise was dedicated near the Theater of Marcellus. Two cameos of early Tiberian date depict Augustus wearing this radiate crown: the one in Vienna has already been mentioned; another, in the British Museum, shows Livia, veiled and diademed, holding a

cornucopia surmounted by a globe that supports a radiate bust of Augustus (Walters 1926, no. 1977; Vollenweider 1966, pl. 91.4–6; Galinsky 1996, 118 fig. 56).

THE CAMPUS MARTIUS AS COGNITIVE MAP OF AUGUSTUS'S LIFE

A visitor to Rome after 14 CE would see a number of areas that had been thoroughly transformed under Augustus. The old Forum Romanum and the new Forum Augustum had been transformed into Julian family monuments, linked by the Forum of Caesar. Much of the rest of the city remained crowded and dirty, but the reorganization of the neighborhoods and their cults, the establishment of sanitation and fire-fighting units, the increased supply of water, all made life more comfortable (Favro 1992). A series of impressive residences and temples crowned the Palatine Hill. From such a height, one could see various “pockets” of imperial architectural activity like the Portico of Livia on the Esquiline Hill, as well as the many buildings of Agrippa and other close associates of Augustus in the southern Campus Martius. All of these were busy areas, teeming with the daily life of the city.

The northern Campus Martius was an exception, even though Augustus's projects here were now complete. The Mausoleum, finished decades earlier, had already witnessed half a dozen funerals. The Ustrinum of the princeps presumably was put back in order after Augustus's funeral, fenced and planted with trees as a memorial area. The magistrates and Vestal Virgins continued to offer their annual sacrifice at the Ara Pacis, and the Horologium-Solarium continued to map out the days and seasons of the year. The parks surrounding these monuments probably made visiting them a peaceful and relaxing experience for those who did not mind the short walk from the city center.

In urban terms, however, the Augustan complex resembled a utopia in its original, Greek, sense: a non-place (*ou tópos*). None of the political, military, commercial, or social functions of city life inside the pomerium or outside it in the southern Campus Martius took place here—just the keeping of time and funerary and commemorative rites. In this sense, the Augustan project in the northern Campus Martius fits M. Foucault's definition of a heterotopia—a place that is “other” with respect to usual social spaces (Foucault 1997). Augustus's gardens had more in common with the extensive horti on the hills of Rome such as the Gardens of Maecenas and the Horti Lamiani. Such gardens would also have called to mind those around the Hellenistic palaces of the east, at Alexandria in particular.

While the gardens could be used by visitors, the Augustan monuments themselves could not. By their very nature, the Mausoleum and Ustrinum excluded the public: they were reserved for the dead. Spectators could walk around, and apparently even within, the precinct wall of the Ara Pacis, but offering sacrifice there was a state, not

private, activity. Similarly, one could stand on the vast paved dial of the Horologium-Solarium and watch the way it marked time, but time in fact passed whether one was present or not.

Paradoxically, it is only with Augustus's demise that the complex in the northern Campus Martius began to acquire its full meaning as a kind of cognitive map of cosmic imperium (Downs and Stea 1973). As a process, the complex began with and ended at his tomb. Augustus as a person was ephemeral, but his monuments are eternal, helping the collective public to remember and come to terms with its loss. The same constructions became a challenge to succeeding generations, a yardstick against which all future rulers have to measure themselves. Thus, the complex served as Augustus's declaration and definition of what it means to be emperor, not just a first citizen.

Clearly, these architectural messages were understood by some members of the Roman public. Petronius, writing around the time of Nero, parodies the Augustan complex in *Satyrica* 71 (here abbreviated), when Trimalchio asks Habinnas:

Now tell me, my dear friend, will you erect a funerary monument as I have directed? I beg you earnestly to put up round the feet of my statue my little dog, and some wreaths so that your kindness may bring me a life after death; and I want the monument to have all kinds of fruit growing around my ashes and plenty of vines. I am appointing one of the freedmen to be caretaker of the tomb and prevent the common people from running up and crapping on it. On my right hand put a statue of dear wife Fortunata holding a dove, and let her be leading a little dog. And have a broken urn carved with a boy weeping over it. And a sundial [*horologium*] in the middle, so that anyone who looks at the time will be forced to read my name whether he likes it or not.

More serious spectators in the northern Campus would see in the monuments Augustus's achievements as a world conqueror and ruler: the Mausoleum for the imperial family, the obelisks from Egypt, the Altar of Augustan (world) Peace. The Horologium-Solarium and Ara Pacis testified to his birth, the Ustrinum and Mausoleum testified to his death, and the *Res Gestae* engraved in bronze testified to his achievements.

THE AUGUSTAN COMPLEX AS A COSMOLOGICAL CENTER

The structures in the northern Campus Martius also marked out the area as a cosmological center (Balandier 1970, 101: "Every society links its own order to an order beyond itself, and, in the case of traditional societies, to the cosmos"). Almost all human societies recognize specific geographic locations that serve as points of contact with the supernatural world and thus possess special power (Helms 1993, 173–91). While simple societies like chiefdoms often select natural landscape features for such

points of interface, complex societies tend to build structures that physically reproduce or represent the cosmos: for example, the pyramids of Teotihuacan imitate mountain peaks (Adams 1977, 190–204); Minoan palaces are oriented to special mountains (Soles 1995). The extensive funerary complex of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan (West Thebes) has been interpreted as a map of the cosmos itself (Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 73–111; O'Connor 1997).

In many societies, a cosmology has already been developed before a cosmological center is constructed. This is the certainly the case in Egypt, where a detailed conception of the cosmos had developed long before temples were built whose orientation and ground plans attempted to translate the shape and functions of the universe into patterns of architecture and ritual activity (Bell 1997). In Japan, the grandson of the sun goddess Amaterasu, Ninigi, established a palace on earth after the cosmos had been created (Soles 1995, 410, n. 27; Kirkland 1997). The palace served two complementary purposes: it was the tangible abode of divinity on earth, but also a point of connection between earth and heaven. Not coincidentally, Ninigi also came to be viewed as a “culture hero” who had introduced civilization and its benefits, including peace and political order.

Augustus's complex meets all the requirements of a cosmological center. The identification and veneration of ancestors is one important function, since such ancestors can be viewed as sources of power. Similarly, “ancestral” buildings may serve as prototypes or archetypes for imitation. By creating a monumental dynastic tomb for himself, his relatives, and associates, Augustus effectively declared himself a new ancestor while he was still alive, deliberately bypassing in the process his natural father, Octavius, and his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. Cosmological centers also tend to serve as the focus of pilgrimages, and we know from Augustus's own words in the *Res Gestae* that the magistrates, priests, and Vestal Virgins were expected to make an annual sacrifice at the Ara Pacis.

Another common aspect of a cosmological site is the “gathering of cultures,” the inclusion of elements from other cultures so that the center is more than the sum of its parts. The obelisks at the Mausoleum and at the Horologium-Solarium can be interpreted in this way (Galinsky 1994), for they also had the symbolic function of connecting earth with the heavens, and with the sun in particular (Le Glay 1989). The obelisk, as a symbol of solar cult and victory, literally pointed to heaven and thus was a symbol of apotheosis. The movement of its shadow also connected Augustus with two model kings, Romulus and Numa, whose births could be considered divinely ordained; the dedication of the Ara Pacis on Livia's birthday included her as well. The Ustrinum, Mausoleum, and Horologium-Solarium can all be seen as structures where the natural and the supernatural worlds came into contact.

Although the structures of the northern Campus Martius represent a concentration of cosmic reference points, Rome itself could now be understood as a similar cosmic center. Throughout the city, other important buildings were dedicated or rededicated

on significant dates in the new Augustan calendrical system. The Temple of Mars Ultor, which housed the standards recovered from the Parthians in 20, was dedicated on 12 May 12, the date of the heliacal setting of the constellation Scorpio along the main axis of the Forum of Augustus; Scorpio, with its main star Antares, was a house of war, and so its setting signaled the end of war (Hannah 1998). In the southern Campus Martius, the temples of Jupiter Stator, Juno Regina, Neptune, Mars, and Apollo Sosianus were all rebuilt and rededicated on the birthday of the princeps, 23 September. And the Temple of Concordia in the Forum, a building rich in astrological references, was rededicated on 16 January 10 CE, the anniversary of Octavian's assumption of the title Augustus (Gasparri 1979; Kellum 1990; Claridge 1998, 77–78). Thus throughout the new Rome, time, space, and the cosmos were all reorganized around the person of Augustus.

CONCLUSION: COSMOS AND IMPERIUM

Largely because of Augustus's own evaluation of his role, as expressed in his own words in the *Res Gestae* and in the words of contemporary poets and historians, there has been a reluctance on the part of most modern scholars to view him as monarchical or as intending his eventual deification. It is interesting therefore to examine the Augustan complex in the northern Campus Martius using J. Tondriau's list of correlates for Hellenistic ruler cult (1948, 42). His criteria include the use of divine surnames; a priesthood; the claim to divine lineage, kinship, or the special protection of a deity; assumption of divine attributes or clothing; travesty of sacred meals; honorific months; ascensions and celestial transportations; presidency of religious associations; divine titles; special evocations, birthdays and sacred days; apotheosis; heroization; and *proskynesis* (bowing) during life or after death. Many of these can be adduced for Augustus.

Like so much in the principate of Augustus, the complex in the northern Campus Martius clearly evolved over time: its buildings were not part of a single master plan. The Mausoleum and Ustrinum belong to an early phase and reflect both concern about the breakdown of social and political order at the end of the Republic and Octavian's recognition of his own unique success as warlord in the years around Actium and the conquest of Egypt, but before his assumption of the title Augustus. The Horologium-Solarium and the Ara Pacis belong instead to a period twenty years later and are an outgrowth of a new "blueprint" for Roman society, formally introduced in the aftermath of the Secular Games.

All the monuments, however, convey specific monarchical messages that are at variance with the emphases of literary sources of the time and recent modern scholarship. The Ustrinum was designed for a deification ceremony; the Mausoleum is a dynastic tomb; and the *Res Gestae* is a justification of apotheosis through great achievements and benefactions. The Horologium-Solarium elevates Augustan time and the birth of

the princeps to a cosmic level, and the importation and erection of the Egyptian obelisk is a blatant statement of his power to appropriate cultures and harness vast manpower. The Ara Pacis memorializes Augustan peace and the return of the Golden Age, but does so by declaring Augustus a ruler who assimilates the achievements of Rome's first two rulers, Romulus and Numa.

The princeps followed Caesar and Pompey in creating a new geography, with his regime at the center of the world, and himself at the center of his regime (S. Price 1984; Nicolet 1988, 28–30). Pompey claimed to be conqueror of three continents and the world (Cicero *Sest.* 129, *Balb.* 9.16; Plutarch *Pomp.* 46.5: “he celebrated his first [triumph] over Libya, his second over Europe, and his last over Asia, so that he seemed to have included the whole world”). The Horologium-Solarium improved upon Pompey: it put Augustus at the center of the cosmos. All four monuments—Mausoleum, Ustrinum, Horologium-Solarium, and Ara Pacis—constitute a complex that has as its major goal the glorification of Augustus: his birth, life, exploits, and death. This is the ground where Augustus would become a god; the vote of the Senate in 14 CE simply confirmed what the Roman public already knew and the eastern provinces had already practiced.

Ultimately, we can look on the Augustan development of the northern Campus Martius as a memorial to one man's transformation of the Roman state. Appropriately, the complex developed over more than twenty years, as Augustus's principate was also evolving and changing. The complex thus serves as an eschatological “museum” of Augustus's life and accomplishments. It provided a way of literally integrating Augustus—the man, his deeds, and remains—back into the fabric of the city that he had done so much to transform.

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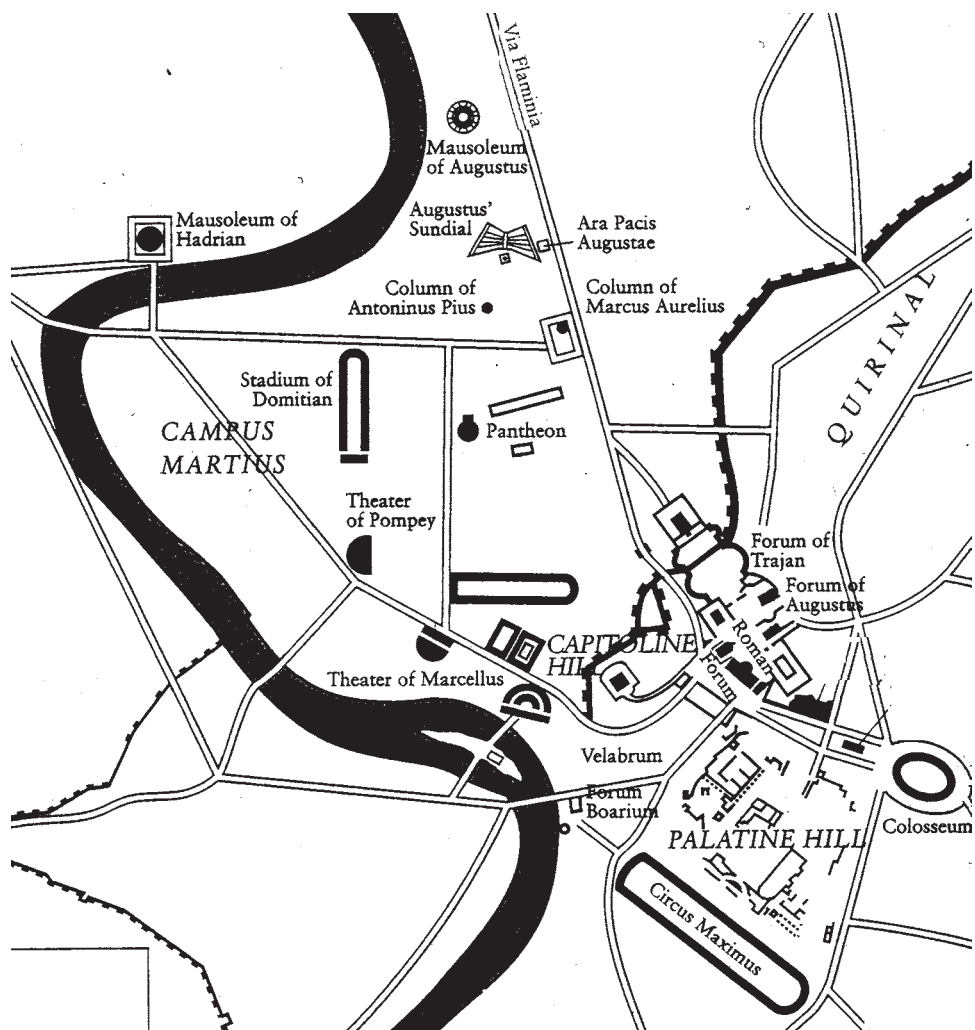
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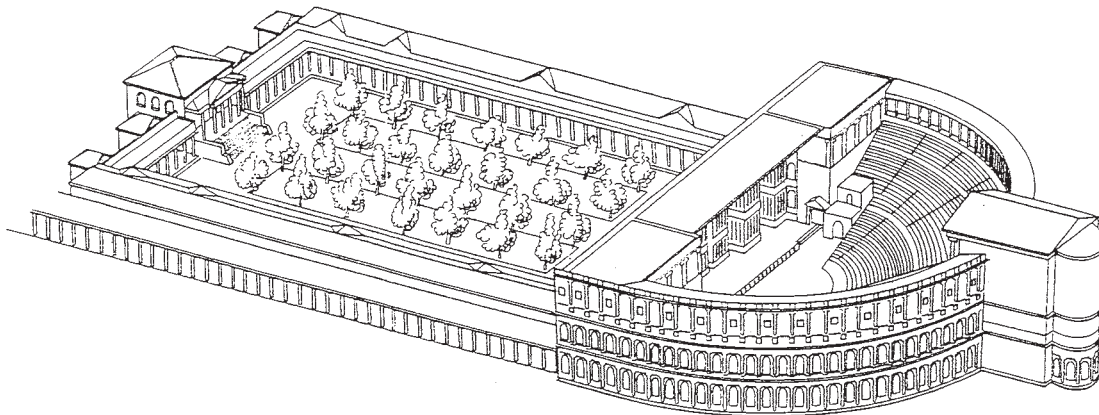
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2. View of the city model, Museo della Civiltà Romana, EUR, looking south from the Mausoleum of Augustus (photo: authors).



3. Pompey's theater, quadriporticus, Hecatostylum (from Beard et al. 1998, fig. 3.1; reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press).



4. Column base of Antoninus Pius: Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina (photo: authors).



5. View of Mausoleum (photo: authors).



6. Mausoleum interior: central drum (photo: authors).



7. Colossal head of Augustus, Vatican (Paul Rehak gives scale; photo: authors).



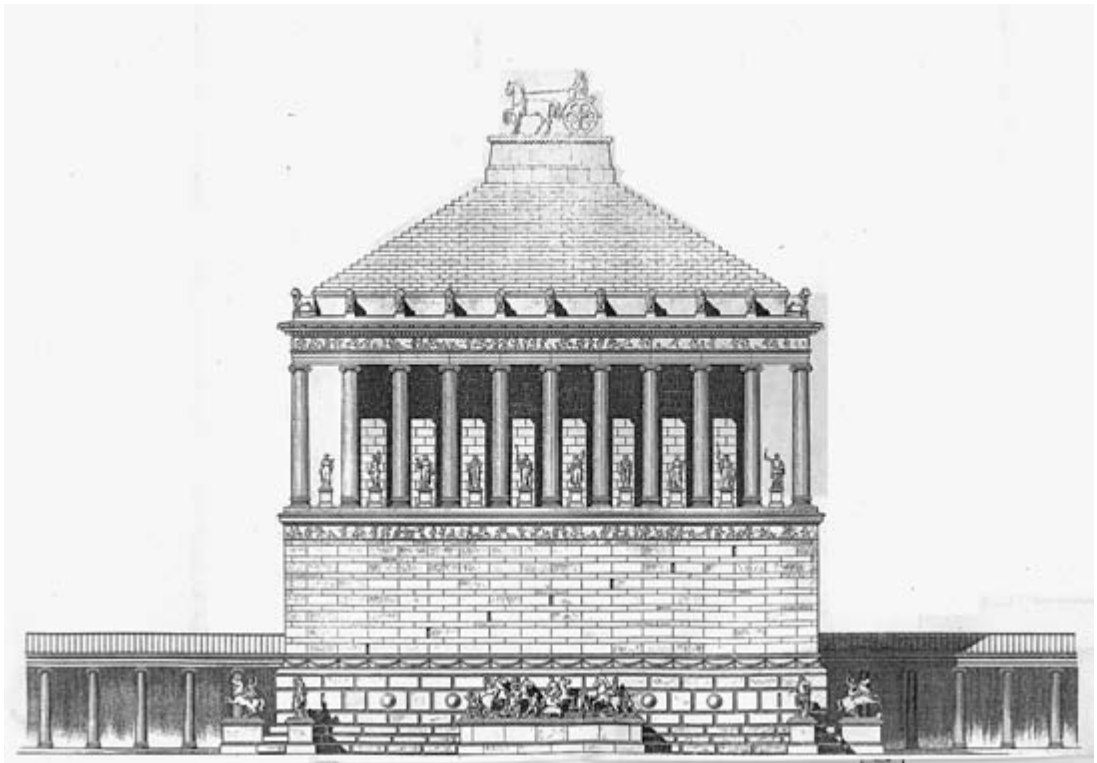
8. Tomb of Caecilia Metella, view (photo: authors).



9. Tomb of Caecilia Metella, frieze (photo: authors).



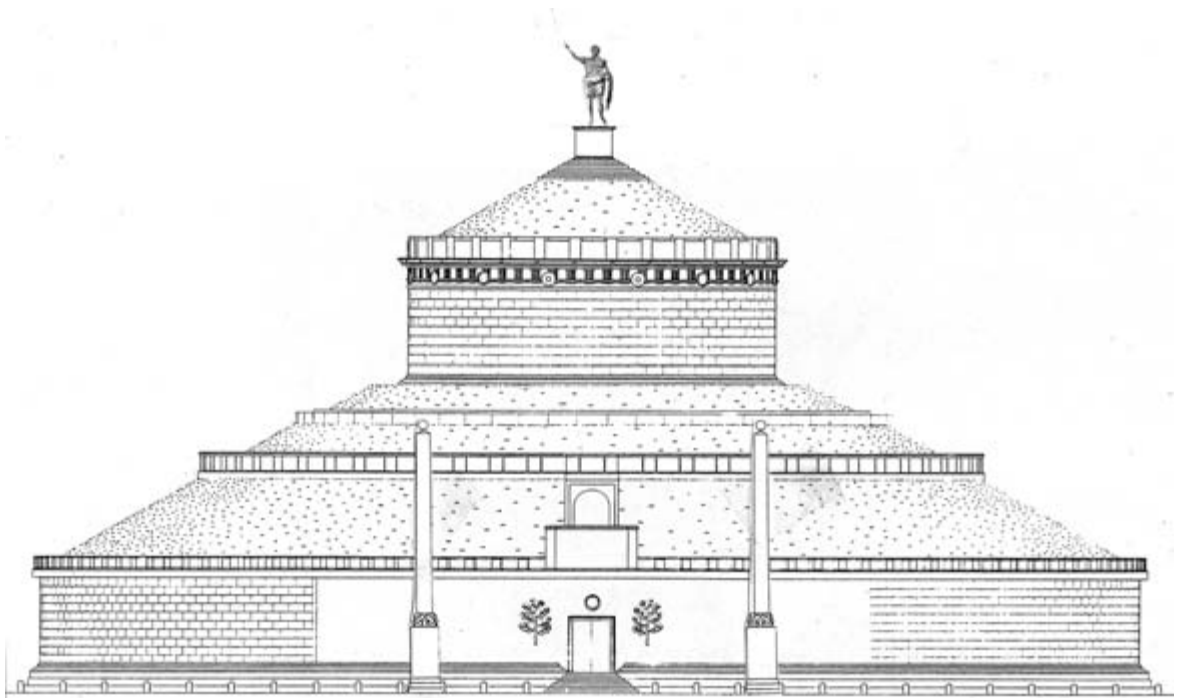
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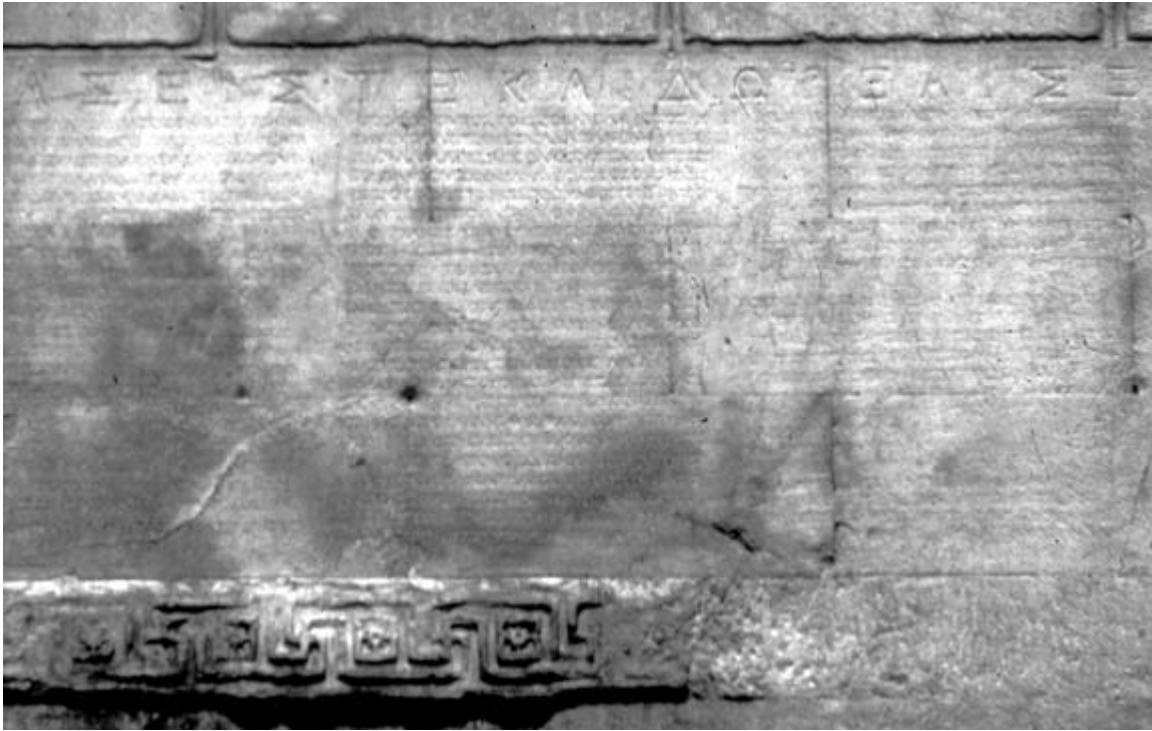
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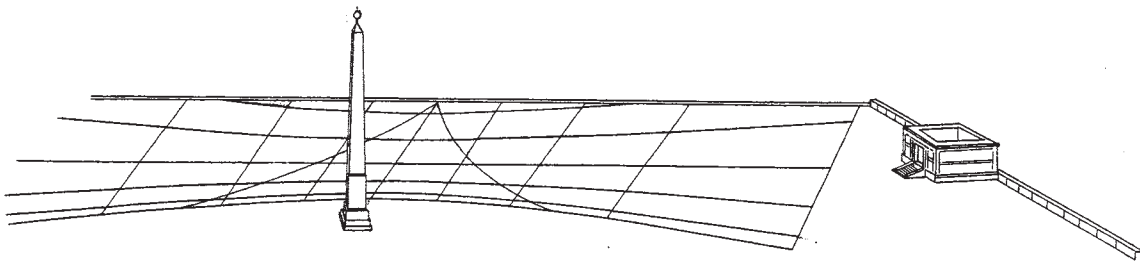
12. Obelisk from the Mausoleum, no. 7, now on the Esquiline at Santa Maria Maggiore (photo: authors).



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18. Tower of the Winds, Athens (photo: authors).



19. Lion horoscope from Mount Nemrud (photo: authors).



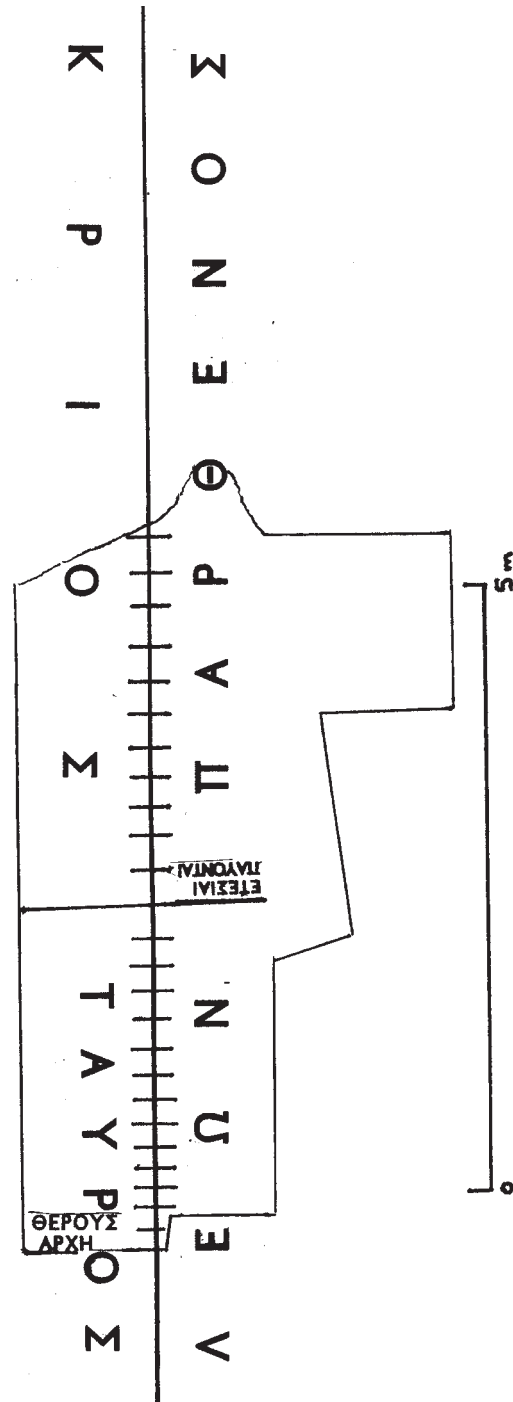
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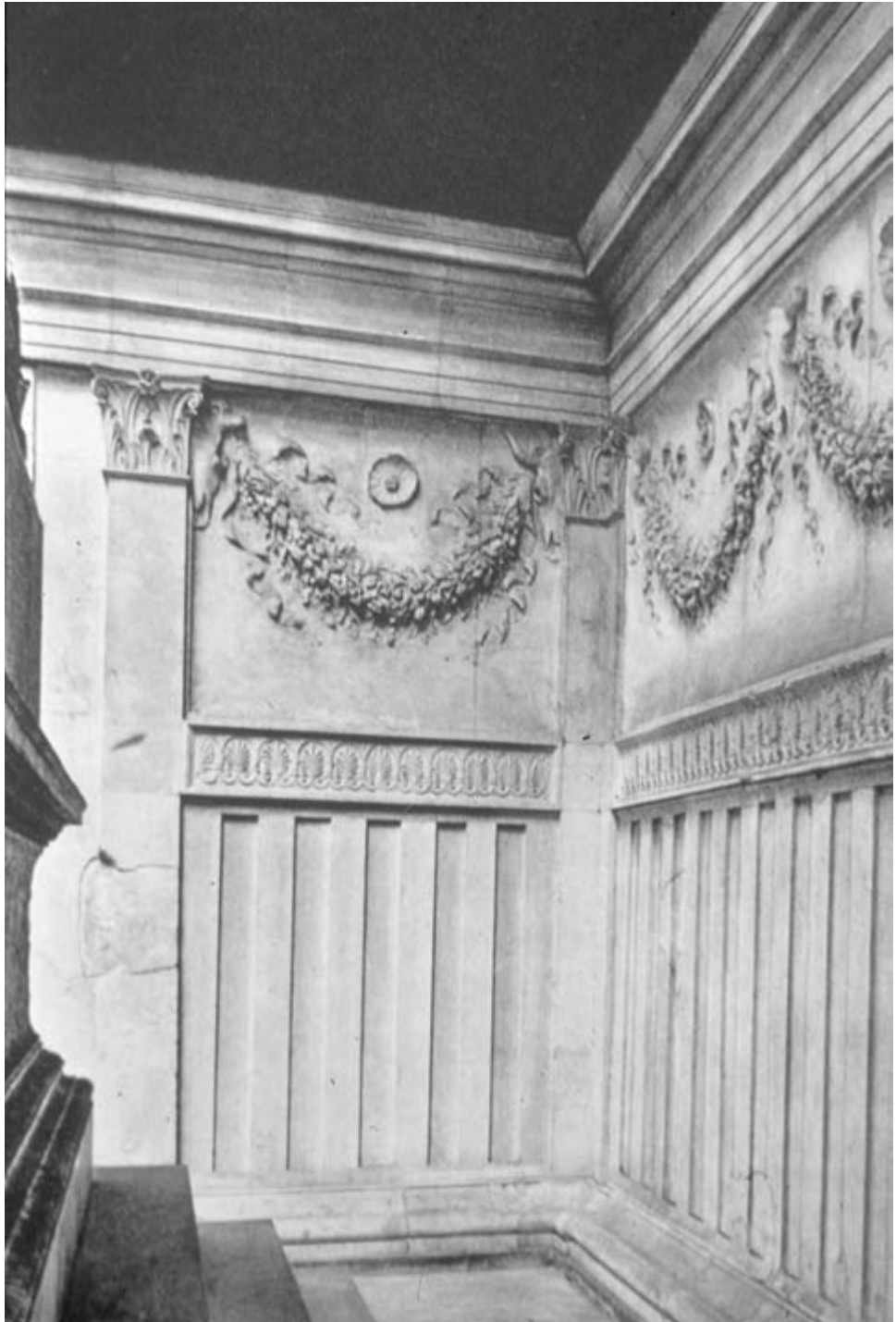
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30. Ara Pacis: acanthus panel below “Aeneas/Numa” panel (photo: authors).



31. Ara Pacis: laurel branch in acanthus floral (photo: authors).



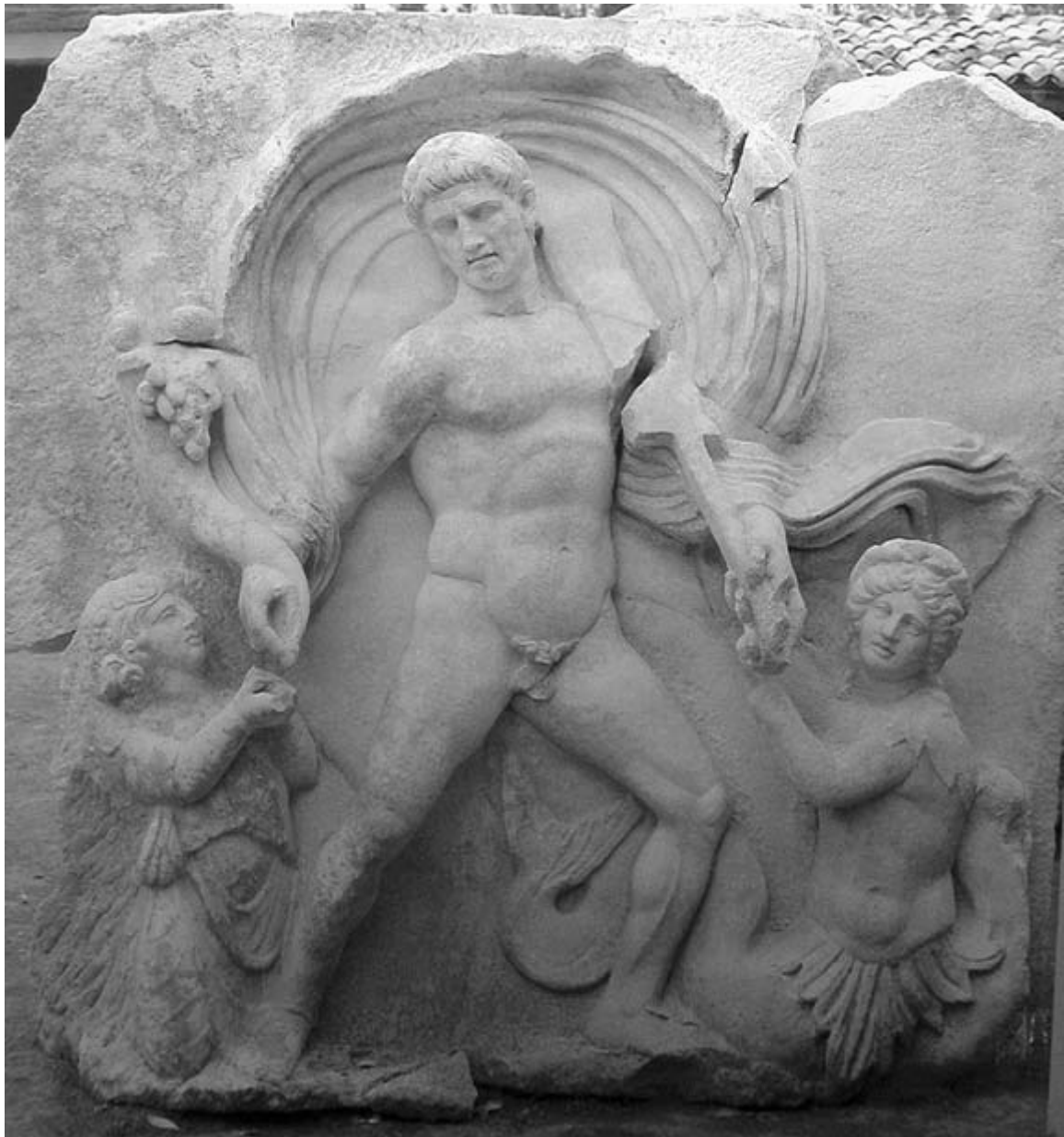
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